PAKISTAN–NEW TRENDS IN FOREIGN POLICY



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Pakistan – New Trends in Foreign Policy

by

AKHTAR AMAN

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DEDICATED TO MY FRIEND

ATA-UL-HAQ QASMI

FOREWORD

'The Foreign Policy of Pakistan' is an attempt to understand different political phases and developments in foreign relations of Pakistan. In this respect I tried to analyse the difficulties being faced by the new, independent small and developing countries like Pakistan. The main idea of my thesis is that, the foreign Policy of a small country like Pakistan, is conditioned with the foreign policy of global powers and general trends in International relations. But it depends upon the determination of leaders and political conditions that some countries take more independent view of the things or some toe the policy line of big powers and adopt subservient foreign policy. But the real success lies with the accommodation of new trends in International relations without harming the national interest. I think the new foreign policy of Pakistan reflects these trends.

The other important point regarding foreign relations is that, it is not something static. The foreign policy of a country changes with the change of events. The situation and nature of relations varies with the passage of time. In 1970's the foreign policies of all the countries are in formation period and all the countries are trying to reshape their foreign policies. The history of the world moved from Cold War to Detente. The Detente, in different parts of the world, is a general trend. But in foreign relations nothing is final and all the things are relative. So there is a danger that the process might take a reverse gear or may continue till the emergence of new One World.

The foreign policy of Pakistan—may please be studied in this perspective.

October 10, 1974 AKHTAR AMAN.

FOREIGN POLICY

From 1947 to 1959

It is China hostility which evokes the continued flow of the bulk of U.S. aid and other activities into South East Asia. It is China hostility under the U.S. treaty to SEATO.

Roger Hillsman
Assistant Secretary of State
for Far Eastern Affairs

History always throws challenges to statesmen and bestows opportunities. A few politicians in the history of Pakistan were capable to meet the challenges. The new Nation which was born under the dark shadow of the World War II lacked capable men who could handle skillfully the delicate and complex task of foreign relations. Unfortunately, in the field of foreign relations, our history is pestered with miscalculation, missed opportunities, over and under estimation of the situation or belated actions. It harmed Pakistan's national interest. In the beginning Pakistan had to adopt an aligned and "subservient foreign policy" which had served the interests of global powers like U.S.A. and the West.

If the foreign policy of Pakistan is judged in the perspective of International politics, it would be easier to understand the impact of the policies of global powers, on the foreign policy of Pakistan.

On the ashes of Second World War U.S.A. & U.S.S.R emerged as two big powers. Immediately afte the end of world war both the countries started to contend against each other. U.S.S.R. represented and led Socialist Block. A few year after the world war China also fell under communism. It generated fears among capitalist countries represented by U.S.A. They have supposed that communist states, might expand their influence by force, impose their Ideologies, and they were moving with the ambitions of dominating the world. These ideological repercussions created a new type of relationship in the world, based on mutual suspicion and fear of attack or domination by hostile country. It divided the world into two Power Blocks, capitalists and the socialists. The new world was once again locked in struggle against one another on the basis of Ideological differences and material interests. This new struggle for domination plagued all the political atmosphere, it generated the germs of suspicion and mistrust. In this new world U.S.A. had superiority in Arms over U.S.S.R. She used to speak from the position of strength and projected the policies of containment of communism. For the attainment of these objectives Secretary of State J.F. Dulles, had planned to spread a net of so-called defence pacts, with the support of Western Europe and Asia. United States of America signed NATO in Europe and SEATO and CENTO in Asia. To combat these policies of U.S.A. in Europe U.S.S.R signed 'WARSA PACT'

It was a beginning of Cold War. The countries like U.S.A had exploited the contradictions and made capital out of it. Because in the new world which had emerged after the second world war, unsettled issues of territorial claims of one country over the other, Ideological differences, real or imaginary, fears of attack had put so many countries against each other. There were so many other unsettled interstate

and within state issues, which were left behind as a legacy of colonial period.

In this situation the politicians of Pakistan had to decide either they would take some independent view of things or they would like to toe the American line and adopt a subservient foreign policy. It was a historic challenge, it was a test of political acuemen and farsightedness of the Politicians of Pakistan. But unfortunately they failed to understand the dialectics of politics. They ignored the Geographical position of Pakistan and were much impressed by the "Truman or Eisenhower Doctrine" or overawed by U.S.A.'s Arms strength. So they had decided to join hands with the capitalist world.

There was no doubt in it that U.S.A was a big power and she had the resources to invest in Pakistan and could help to build a new country. Pakistan was a weak, economically under-developed, militarily ill-equipped, by joining hands with U S.A. she could get assistance from capitalist world. But it was not more than, that to 'Sell the Soul to Devil' Because the assistance was not given at the terms and conditions of Pakistan but U.S-A. I here agree with Mushtaq Ahmed :

> The threat of communism anywhere was a threat to the security of the U.S. whether the threat was actual or supposed, it was underlying assumption of all American aid, and therefore, a cause for concern and criticism, first in Russia and later in China. The conditions on which it was offered was imposed, operated as a brake on the freedom of the receiving states and the development of their foreign relations in the light of their own national interest. The disturbing effort of American policy of the sum total of International rela-

tions was reflected in the extension of the 'Cold war' from Europe to Asia and Africa.

(pag 35)
Pakistan's Foreign Policy.

The analysis of Mushtaq Ahmed proves correct in the light of the report submitted by Mr. Roger Hillsman assistant secretary of state for far eastern affairs:

"It was the hostility of China in Korea which first projected the U.S. in depth-via AID programme into Indo-China. It is China hostility which evokes the continued flow of the bulk of U.S. aid and other activities into South East Asia. It is China hostility underly the U.S. treaty commitment to SEATO. In short we are involved in South East Asia prepondrantly because of the implication of a Chinese hostility to the whole which at this time is of unfathomable depth and duration.

(page 9)
Quoted by
D. E. KENNEDY
(THE SECURITY OF SOUTHERN ASIA).

These developments in International Politics had affected the politics of Pakistan. She opted to align with U.S.A and the West. As a result of this policy the two big neighbours of Pakistan U.S.S.R and China, criticised her policy of alignment with the U.S.A. and the west, India's attitude was already hostile towards Pakistan. It had isolated Pakistan. On the other hand waves of Cold War had touched the area of South Asia, it further increased tension between Pakistan and India. The way to steadily solve the problem, through political means was blocked. The new developments in international politics had put most of the new nations into difficulties and they have no other alternative than to solve their disputes

by use or threat of force. By that time foreign policy of Pakistan had reflected a few trends.

1. Pakistan's Policy of alignment with U.S.A and the west.
2. Fear of Indian aggression and search for security.

Her policies were motivated by fear of Indian domination. On the other side, her strategic position was of great importance for U.S.A. against Russia and China. She was using Pakistan for the containment of China and balancing power in South Asia against Non-aligned India. U.S.A had invloved herself in Korea and Indo-China in early 1950's. In this situation Pakistan not only had supported the policies of U.S.A. but gave recognition to the puppet Government of South Vietnam in 1952.[1] From early 1950's to 1960 Pakistan toed the line of America and her foreign policy was subservient to the policies of America. These developments had an impact on the politics of sub-continent. During this period U.S.A's policy towards India was flexible, she tried her best to woe the Government of India, on the other hand she was aligned with Pakistan. The other disadvantage of Pakistan was, that her two neighbours China and U.S.S.R not only sided with India but Russia gave her open diplomatic and economic support. Russian attitude was comparatively hard and she many time vetoed in Security Council the resoultion about Kashmir. She gave her massive military Aid and had helped India to build her economy. Patwant Singh described it:

> Since the US's arming of Pakistan in 1954, Russia's support to India, economic as well as moral has been consistent throughout ; a superb example, a sustained and eve-keeled diplomacy".

(Page 131)
India and The Future of Asia

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(1) Pakistan Military Rule or Peoples Powers by Tariq Ali.

It should also be noted that the relations between Russia and India did not take concrete shape by 1954. Since Pakistan entered into military pacts with U.S.A , the relations began to take new shape.

> The first commitment of Soviet aid started with the visit of Bulganan and Khruscheve to India in 1955, and ten years it was being freely prophesied that this was the beginning of a process of Sovietisation of the Indian economy.
>
> (Page 75)
> Nehru; The Years of Power
> Geoffrey Tyron.

The political developments had proved that Pakistan gained lesser by the politics of pacts, while the so-called non-aligned India got massive Aid from Russia, U.S.A. and other countries. The policy of non-aligned in 1950's, not only politically but economically strengthened India. Her position was better as compared to Pakistan.

FOREIGN POLICY

From 1959 to 1969

> The Soviet Union seeks peace between India and Pakistan to contain the influence of the United States and China. The United States seeks peace between the two countries to prevent the spread of the Soviet influence in the Sub-Continent and to make India and Pakistan jointly face China.
>
> *Z. A. Bhutto*
> The Myth of Independence

In 1960's certain developments took place which changed the nature of relations and balance of power in South Asia:

(1) Border dispute between India and China erupted into a border conflict between the two countries.

(2) U.S.A and other western powers tried to make capital out of this situation, they announced to give massive military support to India against China.

(3) During this period certain influential groups in U.S A pleaded to undo the partition of Sub-continent.

(4) Russian attitude towards India and China border conflict was, to some extent neutral.

(5) Pakistan's new Government which took over in 1958, took certain new steps in the new situation.

These new developments in Asia and certain other internal conditions were determining factor in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy. It influenced the future course of events. During this period some new trends in the foreign policy of Pakistan were introduced and she adopted an Independent foreign policy. The border conflict between India and China provided an opportunity to U.S.A. to win over India to her side to continue the policy of containment of China. The changed attitude of Kennedy Government towards India and Pakistan and certain other factors compelled Pakistan to give second thought to her unbalanced policies in favour of U.S.A. G. W. Chaudhry has discussed these developments in his book "Pakistan's Relations With India."

> There came a most disquieting statement from the American Vice President Lyndon Johnson 'At President Kennedy's request. I had urged Mr. Nehru to extend his leadership to other areas in South East Asia.
>
> (Page 261)

> One Pakistan's Daily wondered whether in America, a movement has been started clearly for (The) . . . . . . Political re-unification of the Sub-continent; and it referred to Louis Fischer's article "Russia, America and the World", in which was set forth a plan for "undoing much of the evil of partition, Fischer wrote". Confederation would correct the 1947 blunders of allowing religious policies to sever India from Pakistan. He suggested a plan for confederation, India, Pakistan and Kashmir with Srinagar as the capital of the New union. Pakistan's national sentiments and honour are highly sensitive to such suggestions. Johnson's statement and Fischer's proposals caused bitterness and misunderstanding in Pak-U.S.A. relations. (page 262)

These various factors had compelled Pakistan to bring about certain radical changes in her foreign policy. During the

period of President Ayub Khan, Z.A. Bhutto was Central Minister for fuel, oil and power. Later on he took over as Foreign Minister of Pakistan in 1963. He was the man who advocated to reshape foreign policy of Pakistan. President Ayub Khan was not so well read person and shrewd politician to adopt the new policy in the changed circumstances. The offer by him to India for Joint Defence was evident to it that President Ayub Khan lacked the sense of time. This offer was not made at appropriate time. It was very clear that this type of offer of Joint Defence was not against any country other than China. The credit of Pakistan's China Policy has been genuinely given to Z.A. Bhutto by Herbert Feldman. He argued in favour of Z.A. Bhutto and said that he was the person who initiated and formed Pakistan-China policy. He said:

> Mr. Bhutto has made it clear that not only has he a penchant for International affairs, but that he had long been meditating the kind of policy that Pakistan should follow in roder to secure its best interests. Among the conclusions he had formed was the necessity for developing close attachment to China and there is no doubt that during his period of office in the Foreign Ministry, from January 1963 to June 1966, when he took, by leave for reasons of health, this policy was sedulously pursued. Indeed even before he was appointed Foreign Minister he missed no opportunity to advance the merits of this policy and as the records of the National Assembly will show, he intervened on a number of occassions to emphasize its impatience. When he was appointed Foreign Minister he did not fail to utilize the opportunity, either in the promotion of his China policy in the advancement of his ambition to figure prominently in International affairs. This he did with so much success in his own country that he eventually

brought himself into rivalry with the man he was then serving –President Ayub Khan.

(Pages 87-88)
(From Crisis to Crisis)
Pakistan 1967—1969.

It was dus to Z.A. Bhutto's consistent efforts which brought positive results

He signed a border agreement with China for the demarcation of new lines which he had negotiated on August 1961. He laid the foundation and constructed the bulwark of friendship. Pakistan's leaders and delegations visited China. Chinese visited Pakistan. The friendship between the two countries grew day by day on the basis of mutual interest. Both the countries signed agreement for co-operation in different fields. China helped Pakistan in economic, political, cultural and technical fields. China always supported Pakistan's stand about Kashmir. During the War of 1965 China openly supported Pakistan. The friendship of the Peoples of Pakistan and China stood the test of time.

On the other hand Z.A. Bhutto being a Central Minister of oil, fuel and power had always advocated to normalise relations between Russia and Pakistan. He signed an agreement with Russia for mutual co-operation in different fields. It was also a positive step.

The Government of America objected Pakistan policies. Pakistan' China policy was dubbed by American as Pakistan's flirtation with China. In early 1960's Pakistan for the first time 'got' friends instead of masters'. But Pakistan's Independent Foreign policy did not suit the Global strategy of U.S.A. President Johnson sent a message to President Ayub Khan to change China policy otherwise Pakistan's Military and economic aid would be stopped.[1]

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(1) The Myth of Independence (2) Pakistan and the Alliances.

Later on certain other developments took place which had affected the politics of Sub-continent.

Russia and China had developed Ideological differences during Bucharust Conference in 1960, and territorial dispute between the two countries further widened the gulf. This development gave another opportunity to U.S.A. to exploit the situation in her own interest. In 1960's Russia and U.S A. adopted the policies of containment of China. In the new situation the strategies evolved by the United States of America and U.S.S.R harmed the national interest of Pakistan. The two big powers wanted to drive wedge between Pakistan and China and they wanted to bring Pakistan under Indian hegemony to enforce peace without eliminating the causes of the tension. The two powers had colluded against Pakistan. Z. A. Bhutto had analysed these policies in their perspective in his book "The Myth of Independence" He said. "The Soviet Union seeks peace between India and Pakistan to contain the influence of the United States and China. The United States seeks peace between the two countries to prevent the spread of the Soviet influence in the Sub-continent and to make India and Pakistan jointly face China."

(Page 84)

It was a very difficult period for Pakistan. On the one side Pakistan's security was in danger, on the other hand her relations with China had provoked two big powers and her new Independent Foreign Policy was under pressure. These three big powers had conflicting interest in this area. At that difficult time Pakistan's shrewd Politician and Foreign Minister announced to pursue the policy of Bilateralism. He pleaded that Pakistan was interested to maintain relations with all the three big powers on the basis of mutual interest. In these circumstances it was a positive and balanced approach. It helped Pakistan to arrive at understanding with all the countries including big powers without compromising her national

interest and principles. But it could not satisfy United States of America. Her Global interest in this area demanded a subservient attitude of Pakistan. Due to this she decided to impose ban on the shipment of arms to Pakistan after the War of 1965 and also threatened to cut her economic assistance. President L.B. Johnson's Government used certain other levers which forced President Ayub Khan to bow before American demands and he accepted the resignation submitted by the architect of Independent foreign policy of Pakistan. President Ayub Khan later on tried to pursue this foreign policy but eventually United States of America regained influence into national affairs of Pakistan.

Meanwhile Pakistan tried to forge relations with Iran and Turkey. The three countries agreed to enter into R.D.C. in 1964. Besides Pakistan Government gave full support to Arab countries against Israel and supported the cause of third world against Imperialism and Neo-colonialism.

from 1959 to 1969 foreign policy of Pakistan had reflected few new trends:

1. Pakistan drifted away from the orbit of U.S.A.
2. She moved towards People's Republic of China to forge friendly relations with her.
3. Pakistan continued the process of normalisation of relations with U.S.S.R.
4. To forge friendly relations with Muslim countries
5. India and Pakistan carried on their policies of confrontation.

FOREIGN POLICY

From 1969 to 1971

Russia and India signed an agreement of Cooperation in August 1971. India attacked Pakistan and a part of the country was torn away. It was some sort of Russian Aggression by Proxy.

From 1947 to 1959 and 1959 to 1969 Pakistan's foreign policy had undergone two types of changes. Under the shadow of cold war Pakistan aligned herself with U.S.A. It was period of changes taking place on global level and a new relationwhip was taking place in the world. Pakistan opted to join hands with U.S.A The other changes took place after 1959, and Pakistan moved to normalise relations with China and U.S.S.R. These were two different phases in the history of Pakistan. The third phase which started after the exit of Ayub Khan from the political scene of Pakistan, was a crucial one. It started from March 1969 and ended on December 20, 1971. Pakistan Army again stepped and held the destiny of Nation. General Yahya Khan became President of Pakistan. During the period of General Yahya Khan the fabric of Pakistan's foreign policy was torn into pieces, and his adventurist policies tarnished the image of Pakistan.

General Yahya Khan was unable to understand International

affairs. In response to Russia's suggestion to solve the East Pakistan crisis by political means Yahya Khan adopted a rude attitude towards a big power and violated the fundamental principles of diplomacy; thousands of East Pakistani had entered into India as a result of military action in East Pakistan. Russian Government had suggested her to avoid "non-violent aggression" against India. But Yahya Khan did not pay heed to their advice. The process of normalisation of relation which was started in 1959 took a reverse gear. India and Russia signed an agreement of co-operation in Aug, 1971. She attacked Pakistan. It was same sort of "Russian Aggression by Proxy" against Pakistan and a part of Pakistan was torn away from the sovereign country. Public opinion all over the world was against Pakistan, the same case was with U.S.A due to which Republican Government of America who had soft corner for Pakistan could not help the country. All the relations of Pakistan were put to test. During the war no power, which Yahya Khan claimed, came to help Pakistan and she stood isolated in this world of more than hundred nations. Pakistan's position in 1971 was entirely different as compared to her position in 1965. She had no friends other than China and Iran but they had also their own limitations. Actually it was the darkest period in the history of Pakistan. President Yahya Khan's dictatorial rule ended at the threshold of a new history and new winds of change were blowing all over the world. A period of confrontation was taking its last breath, and old period of cold war was about to end.

BIG POWERS-FROM COLD WAR TO DETENTE

> The two sides agreed that countries regardless of their social system, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignity and territorial integrity of all the states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of 'the other states, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis without resorting to the use or threat of force. The U.S. and People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.
>
> *Shanghai Communique*
> Feb. 28, 1972

If we look back at the history of world, we will find that the history of world after World War II, was a history of confrontation in different parts of the world between the allies of two different blocks In the period of last 25 years the big powers rivalry had conditioned the world politics. Actually it was a history of confrontation, intervention, coercion, and so-called local wars. The relationship was plagued with suspicion and mistrust. In Europe, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. were locked against each other.

In Middle East they had conflicting inetrests. U.S.A. supported Israel and U.S.S.R. was a supporter of Arab countries. In Asia U.S.A. was fighting the war of so-called democracy and freedom against communism in Indo-China and Korea. In South Asia, the policies of the big powers were motivated by the ideological and material interests. They wanted to occupy strategic positions in this area. Their struggle against each other had put the countries of the Sub-continent against each other. On the other hand Russian forces entered into Czechoslavia and forced her to remain within Socialist Block. No adjustment was allowed in internal policies. In Middle East, Arab Muslim countries resisted the war of aggression of Israel, their lands were occupied unlawfully by Israel and Arab Palestinians were expelled from their home lands. In Sub-continent India and Pakistan had to fight three wars in 1949, 1965 and 1971. During this long span of time there was a great danger of big powers involvement in different parts of the world. Cuba Missile crisis, Middle East War 1967 and Oct, 1973 and Pak-India War of 1971 were evident to it. It was a power struggle of Capitalist and Socialist Block (particularly Russia's) that all the countries of the world were put against one another and big powers were exploiting their unsettled issues. Pakistan and other countries of the South Asia were also the victim of the power struggle of the Two Big Powers. If these different conflicts, local wars etc. took turn and there would have been another World War, then, what would happen ? Humanely possible guess is that there would have been a destruction and annihilation of civilisation and it would have ended in a great loss. It was a total political phenomena due to which all the countries of the world were engaged to resolve their disputes by use of force or threat of force. The threat of wars or war was the instrument of diplomacy practised to resolve the unsettled issues.

In this perspective we should analyse certain other

developments which took place in the field of technology. After World War II U.S.A was privileged to have superiority of nuclear weapons over Russia and other countries of the world.

She was the most powerful country of the world. But after World War II and up to the end of 1960's Russia had developed her nuclear capability and emerged as a strong power parallel to America. She had strengthened her position. Russia's position had been well discussed by Secretary Defence of United States of America Malvin Laird. He had submitted annual report and said:

> If the current rate of Polaries type submarines was continued the Russian submarine fleet would outnumber the U.S. 41-Vessel fleet by the mid 1970's. New major ships are being built in Soviet yards but officials could not confirm reports that the Soviet Union might be building its first aircraft carrier.

The defence picture at the end of June 1973 would be:

United State of America –

1054	I.C.MB
656	Submarine launcher
531	Heavy bomber
5700	Total deliverable warheads

U.S.S.R.–

1550	ICMB
560	Submarines launchers tubes
140	Heavy bomber
2500	Estimated total deliverable warheads

In Air Defence Russia is expected to have 3100 fighters compared with the U.S. 593.) 10,000, surface to air missiles,

surface to air missile launcher 18397 and 64 anti-ballastic missiles launchers are grouped around Moscow. The U.S. has none. February: 15, 1972

Dawn, Karachi

China had also developed her nuclear capability and her strength was growing day by day. India has become an Atomic Power in 1974. In this persepctive, when so many powers were piling up nuclear weapons, there was tension all over the world, and if all the disputes were left unresolved, what would happen ? In the world of modern technology and advancement, politics of one region is not an isolated phenomena. If certain changes take place in one region, it certainly affects the other areas,

If the fire of war broke out in one area, it can catch all the world. Due to unsettled issues in the world and tensions in different areas, the fear of nuclear war had been hanging all over the world. This situation was a great challenge to statesmen of different countries. In these cicrcumstances they had to re-consider that either they would work for the benefit and well being of humanity or to move towards destruction and annihilation. They had to give a serious thought to change the policies of the Cold War. Dr. Henry Kissinger had discussed the new situation and opined ;

> "Ever since the end of the Second World War, war brought us not the peace. We sought so earnestly, we have responded by what can be descirbed as a flight into technology; by delivering evermore fearful weapons. The more powerful the weapon, however, the greater becomes the reluctance to use them. At a period of unparalleled military strength President Dwight Eisenhower summed up the dilemas posed by the new weapon technology in the phrase "there is no alternative to peace."

(Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, Page. 1)

The growing capability of nuclear weapons of different powers had proved there was no "alternative to peace". The statesmen of big countries voted in favour of peace and decided to outgrow the prejudices of old history. They moved from confrontation to co-operation or re-conciliation to open a new chapter in the world history in the best interest of mankind. The slogans of peace were floated to create a more favourable atmosphere to arrive at understanding and co-operation. The statesmen had shown their determination to eliminate the hotbeds of tensions. The fear of atomic war was not the only factor which had contributed and motivated big powers to live in peace, but there were certain other factors, which had compelled Big Powers to bring change in their policies. Immediate after Second World War, the peoples of Afro-Asia launched movements to over throw foreign rule and achieve independence. The struggle of the peoples of Afro-Asia ended in the Independence of scores of New Nations. But this independence was not more than a myth. The economic and political policies of new nations were controlled by imperial powers. Simply the method to rule other countries or techniques of exploitations were changed. All the resources or raw materials of new nations were utilized by big and developed countries. The gap of development between the developed and the developing countries widened. The deteriorated economic conditions had created a sense of deprivation and sense of injustice among the peoples of new nations of Afro-Asia. They demanded more share in the total product of the world. They restarted their struggle to achieve real independence. This growing sense of injustice and desire to achieve real independence put a new challenege to big powers who were striving to enforce peace in the world. Their main objcet was to create favourable situation so that they could get benefit out of it and exploit the resources of the other countries. The unrest in different countries could harm the efforts directed towards peace.

There are certain other interpretation of this new era of peace. Russian point of view is to some extent different to American point of view. According to their point of view the rate of development in socialist countries had compelled capitalist countries to co-operate with the socialist countries. Besides the contradiction in Capitalist had reached its peak and Capitalist economy was dwindling. Dollar was in crisis There was no any possibility for survival of capitalist world. Russian point of view has been expressed by a magazine.

> First, the relationship of forces between the U.S.S.R and the U.S.A. especially in military and political fields, was realistically reevaluated. The recognition by the U.S. ruling circles of the nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the U.S. was recorded in the documents signed during the May, 1972 Summit meeting in Moscow.
>
> Second, many U.S. political leaders have realised that their country interests are not threatened by the "Mythical Communist Conspiracy" and the far-reaching irreversible socio-political changes are taking place in Asian, African and Latin countries.
>
> Third, the objective realities of the competition between capitalist countries, the tendencies towards sharpening the rivalry combined with the growing pressures on the positions not only of individual U.S. monopoly capital by Japan and the West European countries, are causing profound anxiety in top-echelon business and political circles in the U.S.A.
>
> Fourth, it was discovered that in pursuing a policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union the U.S.A was only weakening its own position relative to other Capitalist countries and, at the same time losing in its competition with Socialism.

As a result, although the U.S. ruling circles have not reconsidered their class attitude to Socialism, it has become of great importance for them to preserve the most advantageous position relating to other Capitalist countries and at the same time, losing in its competition with Socialism. (Page 69)

U.S. Foreign Policy Strategy
for the 1970's
By: Anat Gromyko, A Kohashiv
International Affair/1973/10

In this respect Russian and American point of views were conflicting and contradictory, even then they have compromised their positions on certain points to create peaceful conditions in the world.

Some time back U.S.A. was the most influential power in the world. It was her "power complex" which had involved her in different areas. Besides she was the power who virtually held the policies of different countries to save her own interest. But her bitter experience of involvement in Indo-China and other parts of the world had influenced her policies. So in the changed order of things American Government had to evolve a new strategy of peace, consisting of three points " as stated by President Nixon". Partnership, to speak from position of strength and negotiation [In this respect the main consideration before the policy makers of U.S.A. was to regain strength in the changed conditions of the world.] China and U.S.S.R had clash of interest. United States of America was interested to play central role in the situation.

There were so many other reasons which compelled the statesmen of world to revise their policies and give more serious attention to solve the existing unsolved problems to attain the object of peace in the world. It was understood that if these problems were left unresolved in the different parts of the world it at any time could pose threat to world peace.

So there were three main considerations which had influenced the policies of big powers and compelled to bring about change :

1. Fear of Nuclear War.

2. Increasing sense of injustice among the nations of Third World.

3. Growing problems of the world in political, economic and other fields.

In this perspective the policies of big powers had undergone change. They agreed upon to set aside the ideological differences and formulate the new world order based on material and economic realities. The leaders of the big countries made up their minds to end the era of confrontation. In this respect they took few steps which had helped to change international order.

Three events were of historic importance. American President Mr. Nixon's visit to Peking in Feb: 1972, his visit to Moscow in May 1972 and Leonid Breznehiv's visit to Washington in June 1973. These three events had changed the politics of the world. The old world was a world of confrontation, arms conflict, intervention into internal affairs. In the New world policies of confrontation were replaced by "negotiation" arms conflict by peaceful means of resolving the outstanding problems and intervention by non-violability of borders. Big powers had shown their determination to eliminate the hotbeds of tensions and create more favourable conditions for world peace.

At the end of President Nixon's visit to China a joint communique was issued signed by President Nixon and Prime Minister Chou En Lai. In Shanghai communique which was released on Feb ; 28, 1972 they committed :

The two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their

social system, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states, non aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of the other states, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of Force. The U.S.A and People's Republic of China are prepared to apply there principles to their mutual relations.

With these priniciples of international relations in mind the two sides stated that ; progress toward the normalisation of relations between China and the U.S. is in the interest of all the countries.

—Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.

—Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

(Pages. 153-154)

The President's TRIP TO CHINA

In this communique certain other bold steps were announced by President which reflected that he was interested to break away from the old prejudices of past history. He recognised the right of China over Taiwan and declared "Taiwan is a part of China". This increasing mutual understanding between U.S.A. and China and their determination to resolve their disputes by peaceful means further crystalised the situation. The other countries in the world also started to revive and reshape their policies in the new international order. President Nixon's visit to Moscow in May 1972 added a new dimension. On May 29, 1972 they agreed upon "12 Basic Principles of Mutual Relation." In the light of these principles both the big powers agreed upon

that; –(1) They will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence. (2) –They will always exercise restraint in their mutual relations, and will be prepared to negotiate and settle differences by peaceful means (3) The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have a special responsibility as do other countries which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, to do every thing in their power so that conflicts or situation will not arise which would serve to increase international tension. Accordingly, they will seek to promote conditions in which all countries will live in peace and security and will not be subject to outside interference in their internal affairs, the other principles laid down by the two big powers are also about their co-operation in different fields.

(Peace Programme in Action)
page 15 (Document)

The principles laid down by U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. were not only important for these two countries but were equally important for all the countries in the world. In past the politics of the world had also been conditioned with the politics of big powers. In 1970's the new relationship which evolved after president Richard Nixon's visit to China, U.S.S.R. once again has changed the balance of power and relationship of different countries. Other countries had to revive and reshape their foreign policies and make new adjustments.

Leonid Breznehiv Secretary-General of Russian Communist Party visited Washington in June 1973. He signed an agreement with U.S.A on June 24, 1973. Secretary-General of Russian Communist Party addressed on Radio and Television in America and said :

"We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations not as an isolated phenomena, but as an integral –

and very important—part of the wider process of radically improving the international atmosphere. Mankind has outgrown the rigid "Cold War" armour which it was once forced to wear. It wants to breathe freely and peacefully. And we will be happy if our efforts to better Soviet-American relations help draw more and more nations into the process of Detente—be it in Europe or Asia, in Africa or Laitn America, in the Middle or the Far East.

(Page 28)
(To Build Peace)
Document

President Richard Nixon said at the welcoming ceremony on the south lawn of the White House on June 18, 1973:

"I could also add that not only are the Russian People, the Soviet People, and the American People watching, but all the world is watching as we meet on this occasion, because the people of the world know that if the leaders of the two most powerful nations of the world can work together and their Governments can work together, the chance for a world of peace is infinitely increased."

Page 2

The understanding between China and U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and U.S.A has opened a new chapter in history. And a new international order has been evolved on the basis of new principles :

1. The nations had shown their determination to avoid nuclear war.
2. They agreed upon to avoid the use or threat of force.
3. They decided to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of other nations.

4. They have shown their determination to create an atmosphere favourable for peace.

These broader outlines of foreign policies of big powers had an impact and within few years the world felt visible changes in the foreign policies of comparatively smaller countries. They reshaped and revised their foreign policies.

The period of cold war came to an end. Ideological rivalry did not seem to be relevant. And a new era of negotiations, consultation, mediation and co-operation started. The foreign policies were changed in the light of new circumstances. The Government of U.S.A. negotiated peace prospects with Viet Nam and signed Paris Peace Agreement in January 1973. Now the flames of long war in Viet Nam seemed to be extinguishing. U.S.A. recognised the right of China over Taiwan. The re-unification of Korea was also agreed upon. The Government of United States of America adopted more realistic policies about Middle East; it helped to bring Israel and Arab countries around table in Geneva in Dec ; 1973 and finally disengagement of forces in the Golan Sector was also decided by mutual consultation and mediation by American Secretary of State, in May, 1974. Syria and Israel signed an agreement in this respect also. American Government also decided to end her military basis in certain areas. The change in Russian foreign policy was also visible. In Europe, American and Russian interest had been at stake. It has been a centre of tension in past. To improve the situation, Russian Government signed different kinds of treaties with the concerned countries. The agreements were signed between U.S.S.R. and Federal Republic of Germany, between Poland and Federal Republic of Germany, between German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany. Besides U.S.S.R. and France decided to co-operate in different fields. The late President Pompido's visit to U S.S.R. in early 1974 was of great importance. There are so many other steps taken by the Government of U.S.S.R. to establish new order of peace on solid grounds.

There are certain other developments which should be noted. Some time back Japan and China were rival countries but now Japan has given recognition to China, They were striving for more co-operation in the field of economics. The countries of Europe emerged as a new political and economic force. The unity of third World against imperialism and neo-colonialism and their wish to play more independent role in the world politics also reflected that a phenomenal change has occured in the world. In 1970's the world was entirely different from the world of 1950's, or 1960. War as an instrument of diplomacy has lost its validity and theory of communication is being applied everywhere in the world.

PAKISTAN & GLOBAL POWERS

> The world to day is very different from the one into which Pakistan first emerged as an independent nation twenty six years ago. The passage of time has witnessed a gradual but perceptual transformation in the minds of men and their vision of the world-competing ideologies no longer cause the fear, or inspire the fervour, that characterised the Era of Cold War.
>
> *Z. A. Bhutto*

Pakistan is also a part of this changing world. Any change which takes place in the world effects Pakistan. Pakistan can not live in an isolated phenomena. The history of Pakistan is evident to it that during the period of cold war Pakistan was invloved in it,. As it has been discussed in the first part of the book that the big powers policies of cold war had conditioned the policies of Pakistan. In that situation, due to mis-calculations and mis-judgment Pakistan had to bear tremendous loss. It was all due to lack of experts in the field of foreign relations. But in the beginning of 1970's when changes on global level were taking place and world history was taking a new turn, the popularly elected leader of Pakistan Z.A. Bhutto took over the destiny of Pakistan.

On December 20, 1971, it was a new era of new challenges of history. In the changed conditions he had

to decide whether he was prepared to accept the changed conditions or not, whether he was ready to forgo the policies of confrontation or not? History of the world was taking new shape but people of Pakistan were slow to pace with the time. In this unfavourable internal condition he had to move against the winds. But being a politician of international calibre and an expert in Foreign relations he decided what was in the best national interest of Pakistan. He made up his mind to form the foreign policy of Pakistan in the light of new changed conditions of world politics and Geo-political needs of Pakistan. He was the first statesman of Pakistan who was able to appreciate the background and new developments in international politics. In the new political situation sense of accommodation and national interest were the main points which were needed to be given importance. The foreign policy of Pakistan fully reflected these new trends which were in accordance with the new international order and serve the best national interest. Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto's address to General Assembly of United Nations on Sep ; 20, 1973 reflected that he was fully aware of the new developments taking place in the world and ready to appreciate it. He said :

> The world to day is very different from the one into which Pakistan first emerged as an independent nation twenty six years ago. The passage of time has witnessed a gradual but perceptual transformation in the minds of men and their vision of the world-competing Ideologies no longer cause the fear, or inspire the fervour, that characterized the era of cold war. Different economic and social systems are no longer taken to be mutually exclusive. The people of the world, the youth at least, are turning away from the narrow appeal of national or doctrinal prejudices. There is a reappraisal of the grounds of conflict which appeared to have solidified into permanence not long ago.

Science and human ingenuity have demonstrated the possibility of eradicating want and ignorance Above all there is a greater perception of global unity and inter-dependence, a concern for using the earth riches more beneficially and sharing them more equitably, and a concept of justice and fairness transcending national frontiers.

This view is strengthened by several positive developments. The German settlement is notable among them. It is a step towards the breaking down of the barriers which have for so long divided the states of Europe I extend the warmest welcome and good wishes of the people and Government of Pakistan to the German states whose representatives have taken their places here as members of the United Nations. The process of reconciliation has begun also in Korea and we hope that no development occur to retard it. Above all the world has welcomed with profound relief the end of the Vietnam War, one of history's longest and most sanguinary. We join with sense of good will all over the world in playing that the indomitable people of Vietnam, whose epic struggle for national emancipation is inscribed forever in the annals of human endeavour, will at long last be rewarded with the bounties of peace.

The most significant developments of recent years is the trend towards detente among the great powers. This trend has been welcomed universally. Who is there indeed, that would not applaud the relaxation of tensions that cast their sombre shadows over the entire Globe.

The Pakistan Times, Lahore

The full text of the address reflected that he was able to appreciate and accommodate the new realities of politics. Like

Jawahar Lal Nehru he is "International Nationalist." If foreign policy of Pakistan is viewed in the perspective of global changes and national interest one could be able to find that Z.A. Bhutto has introduced new trends in foreign policy of Pakistan. Most of the steps taken by the People's Government were evident to it that Pakistan has five different circles to move in:

1. Pakistan relations with global Powers.
2. Pakistan relations with the Countries of South Asia.
3. Pakistan relations with Islamic countries.
4. Pakistan's relations with European countries.
5. Pakistan and her relations with the Third World.

Pakistan has always attached great importance to her relations with big powers. But it has been a great tragedy that immediate after the inception of Pakistan her relations with big powers were not properly conducted But in 1960's when Z.A. Bhutto took over as Foreign Minister of Pakistan he introduced a new principle in foreign relations. He tried to forge relations on the basis of bilateralism. It helped to improve her relations with other two big powers, Russia and China. It may be noted that during his foreign mininstership the nature of relationship between these two powers was entirely different. Russia was acting to contain the influence of China U. S. A. and America was moving forward with the policy of objective of containment of Communism. The Ideological, political and economic interest of these big powers were conflicting. In this situation it was very difficult for small countries to side with one big power against the other. So Pakistan had to adopt an independent foreign policy and bear pressures of big powers in the beginning. But in 1970's the global politics is entirely different as compared to the situation in early 1950's and 1960's. The Governments of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R, China and U.S.A.

have left their confrontationist policies. It is more favourable polictical climate for Pakistan, because in past the Government of U.S.A. was allergic of our relations with China and Russia. There is no doubt that relations between China and U.S.S.R. are not so good, even then there is a limit to their differences. However, present conditions are comparatively much better for Pakistan to forge relations with big powers.

PAKISTAN & UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The security of Pakistan is a cornerstone of our foreign policy.

President Richard Nixon

We are living in a world of fluidity and the time of immutable alliances is almost over. In this perspective the countries had to form their policies which could stand the test of time of change. Principle of bilatarilism introduced by Z.A. Bhutto had been more than sufficient to meet the challenge of new time. It has not lost its validity during present changing political situation. It needs three main points to remember.

1. Bilateralism means that Pakistan seeks to maintain relations with each great power without antagonising another.
2. Bilateralism means that Pakistan does not seek advantage from the disputes and rivalries of the great powers.
3. It would welcome a detente among the great powers.

Pakistan's policies of early 1960's and early 1970's had proved that she did not like to exploit rivalries between big

powers or to play one against the other did in. She had welcomed detente between U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., co-operation between China and U.S.A. It has been a great success of Pakistan's foreign policy that in 1970's Pakistan had good friendly relations with U.S.S.R, People's Republic of China and United States of America.

As regards Pakistan's relations with United States of America, both the countries had good friendly relations. It may be noted that certain radical changes have taken place in the foreign policy of America and one should view the relations between the two countries in the persepctive of changed foreign policy of U.S.A. It is no longer a Policy of 1950's and 1960's. It is not a policy of direct involvement into world affairs. It is a policy of partnership. In 1950's Pakistan had decided to enter into military pacts initiated by America. In 1960's Pakistan and U.S.A. had disagreement over certain policy matters. The Government of U.S.A. had been criticising Pakistan's China Policy and the policy of normalisation of relations with U.S.S.R. On the other hand Pakistan had opposed her policies in Indo China, Middle East and South Asia. In 1970's the main causes of difference had been removed. Besides, the policies of Peoples Party' Government and her initiative on diplomatic front had removed the misunderstandings between the two countries. As a result of these policies U.S.A. Government has supported Pakistan on diplomatic front on different occassions. She had announced to share to build a new Pakistan and promised to give her considerable economic aid. She supported Pakistan in other fields also. After the fall of Dacca the situation in South Asia had been uncertain. President Nixon had clearly stated in Shanghai communique.

"The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the

world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tension and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The U.S. will work for a just and secure peace; just because it fulfils the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and social programme ; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression."

February 28, 1972.

Pakistan had been a victim of external aggression. The declaration of President Nixon had helped to reduce tension in the area of South Asia. It had been a sort of assurance of a big power. Besides, President Nixon in his foreign policy report for 1970's had also supported Pakistan and had emphasized for the immediate repatriation of Pakistan POW'S. He had clearly stated in his report submitted in 1972 "our concern for the well being and security of the people of Pakistan does not end with the end of crisis". The Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto had visited U.S.A. in September 1973 and on that occasion President Nixon had declared that "security of Pakistan is a cornerstone of our foreign policy". On the one side President Nixon had shown his concern for the well being of people of Pakistan and security of the country. On the other hand, in his policy report of May 1973 he had offered a formula which had helped to normalise relations between the countries of Sub-continent.

"Today we can hope that the Sub-continent has found a new foundation for stability. This will depend first and foremost on the normalisation of relations between India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. This means, to begin with, resolving the issues left by events of 1971's repatriation of POW's and other personnel: recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations: and resumption of trade and equitable division of assests and liabilities between Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Beyond this, it

means consolidation a new stability on the Sub-continent; an end to arms race; and end to territorial disputes; expand economic co-operation; and creation of a climate of security and ultimately, reconciliation.

(U.S. Foreign Policy For The 1970's)
May 1973, page 145)

It had been American blueprint of peace in the Sub-continent. The lines drawn by American President mostly have gone in favour of Pakistan. A big power had shown her desire for relaxation of tension in area, normalisation of relations and climate of security. American concern for peace in this Area and certain other factors had conditioned the situation. U.S.A. Government's attitude was in favour of Pakistan because it fits into her global strategy. Besides active, constructive and balanced foreign policy of Pakistan had attracted her attention. The Government of U.S.A. had not only helped Pakistan on diplomatic fronts but she had helped her in economic field also. She had given substantial aid to Pakistan to build a New Pakistan and overcome her economic problems. She had given 354.2 million dollar of loan, assistance from 1971 to 1973. These different steps which had been taken by the U.S.A Governmen in response to Pakistan's diplomatic activities indicate that Pakistan and U.S.A had closer relation.

PAKISTAN AND PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

"The Chinese Government and people would, as in the past firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and against foreign aggression".

Chi-Peng Fei

The other big country is the People's Republic of China. She is a neighbouring country of Pakistan. Due to political interests and geographical relationship both the countries had closer relations since 1960. China had supported Pakistan during the war of 1965 and she had always been on the side of Pakistan. When Z. A. Bhutto came in power after the separation of East Pakistan he immediately left for China on February 1, 1972. This visit in the changed circumstances had helped to further consolidate relations between the two countries. During the visit of U. S. President to China in February 1972 Chinese Government once again fully supported Pakistan. In Shanghai communique of February 28, 1972 Prime Minister Chou En Lai had supported Pakistan.

> It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the U.N. resolution on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their

forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir, and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

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It had clearly shown that Z.A. Bhutto had a sense of time. The decision which he had taken to visit China, prior to the historic visit of president Nixon, had proved that he had availed of the opportunity. He had arrived at understanding with Chinese Leaders on certain important issues. Its positive results came out at the end of President Nixon's visit to China. The leaders of the two big powers had specifically mentioned in Shanghai communique, matters relating to Pakistan and Sub-continent. This support had been precious one because it had strengthened Pakistan's position in dealing with India and Bangla Desh. If the factors which had compelled India to sign Simla Agreement, withdraw her forces from the occupied territories of Pakistan and vacate more than 5000 square miles and repatriation of prisoners of war were analysed, one would find it out that Shanghai Communique of February 28, 1972, diplomatic support of China and principles of mutual co- operation declared by U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. in May, 1972, had been on the back of the agreements signed by the countries situated in South Asia. The changed global policies of big powers had conditioned the foreign policies of other countries. There are certain other factors also, but the credit goes to Mr. Bhutto that he had recasted the foreign policy of Pakistan in the new condition and had availed of the opportunities to achieve national objective.

China had supported Pakistan in United Nations also. In August 1972 Bangla Desh had applied for admission to United Nations. But China vetoed it on August 25, 1972, on the

plea that after the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of December 7 1971 and Security Council Resolution dated Dec ; 26. 1971 Bangla Desh would be allowed to become a member of United Nations. Chinese veto in favour of Pakistan had reflected the just stand of China to uphold the principles. It had further stregthened Pakistan's bargaining position in dealing with India and Bangla Desh in June 1973 Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng Fei visited Pakistan and held discussions with Pakistan leaders. He had said while addressing at a dinner given in his honour:

> "Pakistan's demand for unconditional release of 90,000 Pakistani POW's illegally detained by India, was entirely just and had won World sympathies. China fully supported Pakistan's stand on this issue. He declared Pakistan--China friendship would continue to grow stronger and stronger."

The Pakistan Times
June 19, 1973

It was the result of Pakistan's activity on diplomatic front and Chinese support that world opinion turned in favour of Pakistan on the issue of prisoners of war. Due to which leaders of Indo-Pakistan had signed Delhi Agreement on August 29, 1973. Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence Mr. Aziz Ahmad had left for Peking on August 30, 1973 for exchange of views. In Peking Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng Fei had hosted a banquet in honour of Aziz Ahmad and welcomed Dehli Agreement Mr. Chi had said:

> "Pakistan and India have through consultations reached an agreement on the repatriation of Pakistani war prisoners and other questions The Govt. of Pakistan upheld principles in the talks and adopted a series of consultations, measures, enabling the talks to yield positive results. Thus favourable conditions have been created for a detente in the South Asian Region—He

said, "the Chinese Govt. and Poeple would, as in the past firmly support the Pakistan Govt. and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and against foreign aggression."

The Pakistan Times,
Sept. 1, 1973.

It was a firm support of the Chinese Govt. and people which had helped Pakistan to solve outstanding problems with India without compromising her position. After the recognition of Bangladesh on February 22, 1974 Pakistan, India and Bangladesh had signed a tripartite accord. As a result all the POW's including 195 returned to their homeland by April 30, 1974.

On December 21, 1973 Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had addressed the Parliament and announced "Soon we will have the honour of a visit by an eminent leaders of China with whom we will have important discussions." On January 6, 1974 a Chinese delegate led by Mr. Chang Tsai-Chin, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of Peoples Liberation Army of Peoples Republic of China arrived in Pakistan on 12-day visit. During this visit the delegates met leaders of Pakistan and held discussions. The delegates had visited Pakistan Ordinance Factories, Wah, and the Heavy Mechanical Complex Texla on January 8, 1974. The delegates had visited Headquarters in Peshawar and the P.A.F. Flights base Sargodha. On the same day Jan. 10, the delegates visited P.A.F. Air Base Karachi and on January 11, Pakistan Naval Headquarters. On January 14, Chinese delegates had witnessed artillery display at the Fortress Stadium, Lahore. The leader of the Chinese military delegates Mr. Chang Tsai-Chien addressed audience at a dinner hosted in his honour by the Corps. Commander Lt.-General Abdul Hameed Khan at Lahore on January 14, 1973. He had said :

"The People and armed forces of our two countries

have always sympathised with, helped and supported each other in common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. Pakistan can be rest assured that in your just struggle against foreign agression and interference, the Chinese people will for ever remain your friends."

The Pakistan Times,
Jan. 15, 1974

The visit of Chinese delegates to different military basis and headquarters, the interest which they had shown in the display of Pakistan Army and their assurance to side with Pakistan in case of aggression and interference, were not so insignificant. Because immediate after the departure of the delegates the Minister of State for foreign affairs Mr. Aziz Ahmad had declared in the Senate on January 17, 1974 :

"Every possible step was being take to ensure the armed forces capibility to defend the country. However, he said ; he could not be expected to disclose the nature of such measures."

The Pakistan Times.
January 18, 1974

Prime Minister Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on Jauary 19, 1974 at Mir Pur Khas said.

"No power on earth would be allowed to change the frontiers of the country."

The Pakistan Times,
January 20, 1974

A correspondent of AFP had reported that a factory of Ballistic Missiles would be built in Pakistan with the assistance of China. The news item was contradicted. Whatever was the fact, whether this news item was correct or incorrect it was evident from the sequence of events that, if, exactly,

China was not helping Pakistan in building the factory, but the help which she had promised was not less than that. Because the speeches and events had reflected the facts behind the events. One can say that China was not only ready to support Pakistan on diplomatic and economic front, but she would be ready to meet the defence requirements of Pakistan.

From January 1974 to April 30, 1974 some important events had taken place In February 1974 Pakistan had recongnised Bangladesh. In April 1974 the tripartite accord had been signed between Bangladesh, Pakistan and India and up to April 30, 1974 Pakistan got all her POWs repatriated from India including 195. The debris of 1971 war with India had been removed. Besides certain other developments were taking place on the northern borders of Pakistan. Indian and Russian Military delegates had visited Afghanistan. In this perspective Prime Minister Mr. Z.A. Bhutto visited China on May 11, 1974. It was his second visit to China within a short span of time. During his four-day visit to China Z.A.Bhutto had got assurances from China to help Pakistan in case of external aggession. He had not only got support from China about her national integrity. He also won support on different other outstanding issues like Kashmir China not only had supported but also welcomed Pakistan's policies to normalise relations with India and Bangladesh.

The communique issued at the end of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto's visit on January 14, 1974 had said :

> "The two sides noted with pleasure that agreement had been reached among the countries concerned of the South Asia Sub-Continent which had led to the implementation of the relevant resolution of the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council and this created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations among the countries of the Sub-continent.

The two sides hoped that the countries of the Sub-continent would live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for soyereignty and they expressed readiness to develop good neighbourly relations with the countries of the Sub-continent. On the basis of five principles of peaceful co-existence.

They had welcomed the positive development that had taken place in South Asian Sub-Contin ent, the two sides had emphasised the need for continuous vigilence about the tendencies of hagemonism and expansionism and assertion of claims to position of dominance of spheres of influence and reiterated their determination to oppose the tendencies of interference, aggression and subversions and disruptive activities.

The Chinese Premier had reiterated that the Chinese Govt. and people would always firmly support the Govt. and People of Pakistan in their just struggle of national independence, state sovereignty and teritorial integrity and firmly support the people of Jummu and Kashimir.

The Pakistan Times,
May 15, 1974

The communique issued at the end of Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto visit to China had been of political importance. It had strengthened the position of Pakistan. It may be noted that there had been much difference of opinion between the U.S.S.R. and China about the position of Pakistan in South Asia. The Govt of U.S A and U.S.SR had considered India as the major country of South Asia and they were willing to entrust her "Special Responsibilities" in this area. On the other side China had never endorsed such ideas She had welcomed normalisation of relations between the countries of Sub-continent. She had welcomed peace, for prosperity. But she had always condemned the idea of hegemony of one

power over the other. This type of approach had served the best interest of Pakistan. Because it favoured the idea to have relations with the countries on equal level. From political point of view the visit of Z.A. Bhutto had been a great success, and it had added a new dimension to Pakistan relations with China. As Mr. Z. A. Bhutto had said :

"Pakistan relations with China entered vigorous new phase."

PAKISTAN AND U.S.S.R

> We wish good relations with Russia. Russia is our neighbour. It is a big country. We shall co-operate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs.
>
> *Z. A. Bhutto*

Since the inception of Pakistan her relations with Russia had not been friendly. In the beginning Pakistan and Russia had developed certain differences. Immediate after Independence Liaquat Ali Khan declined to visit U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra had signed SEATO and CENTO initiated by U.S.A., U2 incident during the period of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan's irrational and undiplomatic reply to Russian President during East Pakistan crisis, Russian support to India over the issue of Kashmir and her "aggression by proxy" in East Pakistan had badly affected the relations of the two countries.

In early 1960's Z.A. Bhutto as a Foreign Minister of Pakistan had tried to normalise relations with Russia. He had signed an agreement with Russia as a Central Minister for Fuel and Oil. It had been a turning point in the relations between the two countries. But later on, due to certain events the relations between the two countries could not improve.

Z.A. Bhutto took over as President of Pakistan on December 20, 1971 During the rule of Military Junta the machinery

of foreign policy had been totally jammed. He had to build the country from the scratch. Z. A Bhutto who had pleaded to recast foreign policy on the principle of bilateralism, had realised the importance of Pakistan's relations with U.S.S R. Immediate after the fall of Dacca the internal situation of Pakistan was not so ripe to sow the seeds of friendship with Russia There had been resentment against Russia in Pakistan due to her negative role in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh). But being a political realist he had to sail against the winds, to safeguerd national interests. He had taken certain steps to repair relations with U.S.S.R. He visited Russia, in March, 1972 to explain the point of view of Pakistan's peoples Government. about the big powers, particularly Russia and evaluation of the current political situation in South Asia.

During his visit to Moscow both the countries had emphaszed to abide by the five principles of co-existence. Immediate after the visit of Mr. Bhutto Pakistan's economic aid was resumed, on March 20, 1972 Leonid Breznehiv had announced to maintain good relations with Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto, on his arrival from Moscow had addressed a public meeting at Lahore and declared.

> "We seek a life of peace and justice. We wish good relations with Russia. Russia is our neighbour. It is a big country. We shall co-operate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs."
>
> (Z A. Bhutto—Speeches and Statements, P. 141)

President had addressed National Assembly on April 14, 1972 and had shown his satisfaction over his visit to Moscow. He had said "We were able to convince the leaders of Soviet Union that we desired peace in the sub-continent and good relations with all States in our propinquity." The subsequent events had proved that Mr. Bhutto's claim to arrive at understanding with Russian leaders was not incorrect, because Russian attitude

seemed to have been changed due to Pakistan's activity on diplomatic front. Perhaps People's Party's Govt had been the first Government who had mobilised public opinion to forge Pakistan's relations with all the big powers including Russia.

As a result of Z.A. Bhutto's visit to Moscow the trade between the two countries had been resumed. Russia's Chairman, External Trade and Import and Export Department had visited Pakistan and signed an agreement of trade on April, 1973. Previously Russian Government had announced to write off the loans given to Pakistan (allocated for the development of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh)

So many other developments had taken place which reflected that the relations between the two countries are much better as compared to their relations in the past. Under a bilateral agreement between Pakistan and Russia the Govt: of Russia had helped during oil crisis in early months of 1974. Three Russain ships loaded with kerosine oil had arrived at Karachi in January, 1974. One ship carried 18000 tons of kerosine oil. The other had brought on January 10, 1974—265 tons of equipment for the Oil and Gas Corporation and in addition to this 635 tons of equipments for other commercial firms. The ship had also carried 4000 tons of iron and 722 tons of zinc and 359 tractors.

The third ship had brought 92 tractors to Pakistan on January 12, 1974. On Februay 8, 1974 Federal Education Minister Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and Soviet Education Minister signed a programme for Co-Operation. Under the programme a two-member Soviet delegation of the Ministry of Culture would visit Pakistan by June 1974 to discuss cultural co-operation.

The two sides would also exchange delegations to discuss co-operation and joint ventures in the publications. Educational delegates would also be exchanged to study the system of education. The two sides agreed to exchange films for Films Festi-

vals, Writers and Journalists. The programme envisages widespread exchanges and contacts in Science, Technology Education, Culture, Art, Mass media of Communication, Sports and Public Health. Besides Pakistan and Russia had signed a new barter trade protocol in Moscow in February 1974. The U S.S.R. trade representative in Pakistan Mr. Nikolai Matchulin had informed the Newsmen that under the Protocol the U.S.S.R. would also supply 10000, Tons of Steel billets, 700 of Zinc, about 2000 tractors, 2500 Tons of Urea, Machinery and equipment for Oil and Gas, Textile Machinary etc. Pakistan would supply cotton, hosiery, and ready to made garments, shoes, towels, specles frames, surgical instruments and leather and sport goods. The total volume of this trade would be about $ 50 million as against last year $ 30 million". (The Pakistan Times, March 20, 1974.)

The delegations on both sides had frequently visited each country. In the short period of 2½ years Pakistan had succeded to repair her relations with Russia, in the field of politics and economics etc. Due to which she had helped Pakistan to install a Steel Mills in Karachi near Papri which had been inaugurated by the Prime Minitser Z. A. Bhutto.

It may be noted that in the mid of 1960's and up to 1970's the two big countries, China and U.S.S R had contiuned their policies of competition and confrontation. But it had been a success of Pakistan's Bilateralism that she had good relations with Russia and have close and warm relations with China. It had been a policy of Pakistan not to play one against the other or to join hands with one big power against the other Z. A. Bhutto on his visit to Peking had openly declared and took a stand that "My visit is against none" It clearly shows that he had been fully aware that his visit to one country might be apprehended by the other country as a conspiracy against her. Asian Security Scheme was introduced by U.S.S.R. But Pakistani Government was reluctant to join it. Neither

she had refused it nor accepted it, but she had promised to reconsiders it on appropriate time.

Pakistan's relations with U.S.A., China and U.S.S.R. had been discussed. It had been proved that it had been Pakistan's great success to have good friendly relations with the Government of U.S.A. Close and warm relations with China and balanced relations with Russia. She had relations with each country on the basis of Bilateralism.

PAKISTAN & INDIAN RELATIONS

(A NEW PHASE)

India has a choice. The choice before India is either accept the norms of Justice and equality or face an implacable enemy for all times because the people of Pakistan, their spirit, their determination, their courage, can never be compromised, no matter what happens in temporary affairs over the exigencies of time.

Z. A. Bhutto.

Political history of sub-continent had reflected those tendencies which had been the characteristics of the world politics. From 1947 to 1970, the politics of world had reflected the tendencies of confrontation between various countries. In South Asia Pakistan and India had also been locked in struggle against each other. Since the inception of Pakistan both the countries of Sub-Continent had adopted divergent Foreign Policies. Both the countries had so many outstanding problems, like Kashmir, which had endangered the peace in the area. Due to this problem both countries had fought two wars against each other in 1949-1965. Besides both the countries had different ideologies and cultural traditions. There had been so many other political, economic issues which had brought them in conflict with each other, in 1949, 1965-1971. But after the fall of Dacca the situation not only in Sub-continent but all over the world had undergone so

many changes. All the world moved from the Policies of confrontation towards co-operation. Besides the Leaders of the Indo-Pak had revised their political objective and had shown their determination to change their policies in the perspective of changing Kaleodoscope of world politics and changed conditions in subcontinent. When Z. A. Bhutto came into power, he reviewed the new political situation and determined to enter into a "new phase' of normalisation of relations with India. When he resumed the power there had been two types of problems to be settled with India. One, outstanding problem with India was that of Kashmir, the other problems, which had been left after the fall of Dacca. Z. A. Bhutto had to remove the debris of the past and had to construct the country from the scratch. It was a challenge for a new Nation and to its Leadership to breakawy from the prejudices of the past and move forward with new approach and vision. There were two way of solving the problems, either to pursue old policies of confrontation of cold War or to embrace new political realities. Z. A. Bhutto opted to adopt a new approach with the conditions that India would also behave like that. On December 20, 1971 he said.

"India has a Choice. The choice before India is either accept the norms of justice and equality or face an implacable enemy for all times, because the people of Pakistan, their spirit, their determination, their courage, can never be compromised, on matter what happens in temporary affairs over the exigencies of time."

Z. A. Bhutto—Speeches and Statement (Page 6)

He had addressed a public meeting at Karachi on January 3, 1972;

If India wants that the people of India and the Government of India should live with dignity and respect in this sub-continent then I want to tell the Prime Minister of India

that we also want the same. We also want that we should also live as a Nation within our territories. We have no aggressive designs against their Nation and if they do not have any aggressive designs against our Nation they are welcome to build a Country and allow their people to progress and prosper and allow us to prosper and progress in our country and live with respect and dignity in this sub-continent.

Z. A. Bhutto—Speeches and Statement
(Page 54)

As it has been stated that it was a very difficult time. Immediate after the fall of Dacca, India was in a much better bargaining position. She had more that 90000 POW's of Pakistan in her custody. She had broken away one part of the country with her military. Force and subversive activities. Somehow the other she had been in a position of a victorious country. Pakistan's position had been weak. It seemed to be very difficult to arrive at an honourable agreement with India but Z. A. Bhutto had refused to accept peace at the cost of National dignity and honour. He took two important steps which had helped Pakistan to strengthen her position.

1. He had mobilised the jammed machinery of Foreign Policy.
2. He arrived at understanding with opposition Parties.

The Simla Agreement had been signed between India and Pakistan on July 3, 1972. From December 1971 to July 3, 1972 so many important events of International importance and National Importance had taken place. So the developments which had taken place in the sub-continent should be viewed in the perspective of International and National events. First of all the events of National importance would be discussed. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto to strengthen his position reactivated the Foreign Policy of the country. In February 1972, prior to the visit of President Richard Nixon

to China, he had visited China and got assurance of continuous and full support from China. In March, he had visited Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Lybia, Egypt and Syria. Its main object had been to "reassure our friends at the highest level that we were taking a firm hold of our National affairs, to thank them for their past help and to seek their understanding for our grave predicament".

In March 1972 he had visited Moscow to repair relations with her. Pakistan's People's Government had sent special envoys to United States, Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East. At home Z A. Bhutto had signed Tripartite Accord with National Awami Party and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, in March 1972. The National Assembly had passed an Interim Constitution. Z. A. Bhutto had got a vote of confidence under Interim Constitution and had taken into confidence certain major political parties. He had discussed Pakistan and India relations with the leaders representing different sections and communities of the people.

On international level global powers were striving to establish a new international order to achieve the objectives of peace. A new political phenomena of co existence was taking place.

President Nixon had visited China in February, 1972 and Moscow in May, 1972. His visit to two countries and certain other important developments had crystillised the new political situation in the world. So active Foreign Policy of Pakistan, unity at home and changed political situation of the world strenghtened the position of Pakistan and had gone in his favour.

In this perpsective of national and international events a seventeen members Indian delegation led by Mr. D. P. Dhar had arrived in Pakistan on April 25, 1972. Aziz Ahmad conducted discussions with Indian delegates at Murree, the delegates had agreed upon an agenda and fixed the date for

the summit meeting. According to the decision of Murree talks President Z.A. Bhutto had left for India June 29, 1972 and held discussion with Indian leaders in detail. At the end of his visit the two parties signed the Simla Agreement on July, 3 1972. It was document which had been signed to create peaceful conditions in the sub-continent. It had been a great achievement of both the countries to end the period of confrontation and enter into a new phase of reconciliation. It has only not been in the interest of Pakistan but also in the interest of the poeple of the sub-continent. If the agreement signed by Pakistan and India had been analysed in the perspective of international politics, it would be found that two historic documents signed by the leaders of U.S.A. and China, U. S. A and U. S. S. R. were on the back of the decision taken by the leaders of sub-continent. These were:

1. The joint communique of China and U.S.A. signed by Prime Minister Chou En Lai and President Nixon on February 28, 1972.
2. The Agreements signed by U.S S.R. and U.S.A. in May, 1972 and laid down the principles of mutual co-operation betweem the two countries.

These two visits of President Nixon had set the course of events of world politics. If Shanghai Communique had been studied in comparison with the Simla Agreement, it would be found that the decisions taken in the Simla Agreement had been demanded in Shanghai Communique by Premier Chou En Lai and President Nixon.

Shanghai Communique *February: 1972*	**Simla Agreement** *July, 1972*
President Nixon said" Consistence with the United Nations' Security Council Resolution of December. 21, 1971 the U.S.A favours the	That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have ludevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be

Shanghai Communique
February, 1972

continuation of the cease fire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to with in their own territory and to their own side of the cease fire lines in Jammu and Kashmir. The U.S.A supports of the people of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threats and, without having the area become the subject of great powers rivalry.

Mr. Chou En Lai said:

It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the U.N. resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own side of the cease fire line of Jammu and Kashmir, and firmly supports the Pakistan Govt. and people in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

Simla Agreement
July, 1972

resolved by peaceful means. That in accordance with the charter of the U. N. they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other. Both the Governments agreed that Indian and Pakistani forces shall be with drawn to their side of the international border.

In Jammu and Kashmir the line of control resulting from the cease fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudices to the recognised position of either side.

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To solve the outstanding problems by negotiations, withdrawal of all military forces and respect territorial integrity had been recommended in Shanghai Communique. The Simla

Agreement signed by the two countries had shown that all the demands had been accepted. It did not mean that the Simla Agreement had been signed due to certain outside pressure. Actually there had been so many internal and external factors which had determined the political conditions in the sub-continent. It was a good new start. Both the countries had agreed upon to end the long period of confrontation.

The Simla Agreement had been ratified on July 14, 1972 by the National Assembly. Under the Simla Agreement the representatives of the Chief of Staff of the two Armies had held their first meeting at Suchet Garh on August 10, 1972. Afterwards Senior Commanders and Sector Commanders had attended the meeting. But unfortunately, India again played the old tactics. She had linked the withdrawal of Forces with delimitation of Control line in Jammu and Kashmir.

To resolve this dispute special Emissaries met in New Delhi on August 28, 1972. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Abdul Sattar, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rafi Reza, Special Assistant to the President on Pakistan and P.N.Haksar etc. on Indian side agreed upon to complete delineation by September 4, 1972 and withdrawal of Forces by September 14, 1972. But India again failed to act upon the promises made in the agreement and she had demanded another small village 'THAKKO CHAK'. The negotiation again ran into difficulties. President Z. A. Bhutto on September 3, 1972 had announced that "Pakistan will hand over the two posts of LEPA to India". The announcement was made due to certain provision in the Simla Agreement. But India who had signed the Agreement again violated it. First of all she did not complete the withdrawal of the Forces from the occupied territories and delineation of Control Line in Jammu and Kashmir. Second, she violated the Simla Agreement and put her Forces

against Pakistan to resolve the disputes. On Septembr 1972. She attacked near Kotli Sector. In November 1972, Indian Forces attacked Pakistan near Sulemanki and Hijeera Sectors. Once again India had tried to put pressures, but Pakistan refused to succumb to these pressures.

Both the parties restarted Negotiations on November 28, 1972. General Tikka Khan and General Manik Shaw met at Lahore. They could not agree. But on December 7, 1972, Pakistan Government agreed to hand over the THAKKO CHAK and in place of it India agreed upon to compensate Pakistan. In this way certain articles of the Simla Agreement were implemented. It had shown that Indians were reluctant to change their attitude about Pakistan. In spite of all these agreements between the two countries Indian attitude was inflexible. Because she had openly violated the Geneva Conventions by detaining more than 90000 POW's and civilian Pakistanis. On the other hand President Z A. Bhutto, immediate after the Simla Agreement on August, 1972 had announced to release the POW's of India as a gesture of goodwill. India not only refused to release Pakistani POW's unconditionally, but she also conditioned the release of POW's with the Recognition of Bangla Desh. The Government of Bangla Desh had also adopted a non-compromising attitude and insisted to put 195 POW's on trial under the allegations of War crimes. Pakistan vehemently opposed it. President Bhutto had repeatedly said that Pakistan would not recognise Bangla Desh until the repatriation of the POW's and trial against 195 POW's would not be allowed. Meanwhile the Government of Bangla Desh had applied for admission in the United Nations. But People's Republic of China vetoed it. The General Assembly of United Nations interlinked the issue of repatriation of POW's and the humanitarian problems with the admission of Bangla Desh to United Nations. In April 1973 India and Bangla Desh agreed upon to delink humanitarian questions of release of POW's from the Recognition of

Bangla Desh. Pakistan had welcomed this decision. But the Governments of Bangla Desh and India had refused to hold talks prior to the acceptance of the Delhi Agreement signed by the two countries. Besides Bangla Desh Government had shown her intentions to start trial of POW's by the end of May. Pakistan who had always opposed it, tried her best to prevent the transferring of POW's to Bangla Desh from India. Pakistan had filed a petition with the International Court of Justice. The Indian Government protested against this action of Pakistan but later on accepted the offer to have Negotiations with Pakistan. The representatives of the two countries met at Islamabad on July 1973. But the issues had been finalised in New Delhi on August 28, 1973. And Mr. Aziz Ahmed on the part of Pakistan, P.N. Haskar on the part of India had signed the Delhi Agreement It had helped to solve the outstanding humanitarian problems. The Delhi Agreement was one step farther towards the normalisations of relations. They agreed upon;

A—"Simultaneous repatriation of all Pakistan's Prisoners of War and civilian internees, all Bengalis in Pakistan and a substantial number of non-Bengalis in Bangla Desh.

B—Bangla Desh agreed that no trial of 195 POW's shall take place within the entire period of repatriation and pending the settlement of the question, these Prisoners of War shall remain in India

C—On completion of the agreed repatriation or earlier, it agreed Bangla Desh and Pakistan will discuss the question of POW's.

Under the Simla Agreement, Line of Control had been delineated and forces were withdrawn from the territory. The Delhi Agreement had been a step farther, and Pakistan was given assurance that 195 POW's shall remain in India, simultaneously the repatriation of POW's started. The agree-

ment was hailed by other countries. It had been a step towards detente in South Asia. Besides Pakistan had taken certain other steps which helped to normalise relation between the countries situated in the sub-continent. Pakistan Government had sought clarification from Supreme Court in July, 1973, whether the National Assembly was authorised to empower President to recognise Bangla Desh at appropriate time or not. After the clarification the National Assembly had passed a resolution empowering President of Pakistan to recognise Bangla Desh at appropriate time. Pakistan Government's stands had been, that she would not allow the trial of 195 POW's. On the other side Mujib Government had insisted to recognise Bangladesh. It was a complicated situation. Meanwhile certain other important events had taken place.

Israel had again attacked Arab Countries and a furious war had broken out in the Middle East. Pakistan, after the end of war, had proposed to hold an Islamic Summit. All the Muslims countries had supported the proposal. On February 1974 Islamic Summit had taken place in Lahore. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto took another important step in the national interest. On February 22, 1974 he had addressed the people's representatives at Pakistan Television Lahore and announced the recognition of Bangla Desh. On that occassion he said :

> "Bangla Desh was a reality and if that reality could be ignored he would have done so. If by not recognising Bangladesh Pakistan could have eliminated the reality, he would have been the last person to have taken that decision. It was mere a talk, he said, that by recognising Bangladesh Pakistan was letting the forces responsible for it to enjoy, "the fruit of aggression" that was not true at all. Situation could be resolved both by war and peace and if they were not resolved by peace war was resorted to.

Mr. Bhutto had said he was not happy in taking this

decision but sometime right decision were painful decisions. I have taken this decision becuse I think this the right decision to take. But I have taken it with heavy heart.

(The Pakistan Times,
February 23, 1974)

Immediate after this decision Sheikh Mujibur Rehman had arrived at Pakistan to attend the Islamic Summit. He was accorded a warm welcome. The recognition by Pakistan had created more favourable atmosphere. Under the provisions of Delhi Agreement Bangla Desh could join the next meeting and sit on the table with Pakistan as a sovereign state. It had been decided by the Government of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to hold Tripartite meeting in Delhi in the month of April 1974. Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence Mr. Aziz Ahmed had reached New Delhi on April 4, 1974 and hoped that "the 195 issue will be solved". On April 5, 1974 the talks started. The Indian delegation was led by Mr. Swarn Singh, Surinder Pal Kewal Singh, and P. N. Dhar. Pakistan was represented by Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Agha Shahi, Mr. Abdul Sattar, Mr. Khalid Saleem and Azmat Hassan. On the side of Bangla Desh Dr. Kamal Hussain, Fakhrudin Ahmed, Mr. Ataulkarim, Mr. A. H. K. Murshad and Mr. A. R. Malik and Mr Abdul Ahsan. But the conference ran into trouble at the end of two sessions. The Bangla Desh delegation encouragad by India had proposed at the first meeting that an international agency should determine the eligibility of some three lakhs non-Bengalis repatriation from Dacca to Pakistan. It had also sought from Pakistan a clearly spelt out guarantee that it would try the 195 war prisoners.

At that time the deadlock could harm the process of normalization in the sub-continent. Prime minister Z.A. Bhutto

who had been in Paris in the month of April, had said."

> If the question of 195 POW's is not solved satisfactorily, then there is danger that the whole process of normalization of relations in the sub-continent maybe put into the reverse gear.
>
> (The Pakistan Times April 9, 1974)

But the good sense prevailed and they had signed the Tripartite Accord on April, 9, 1974. All the parties emhasized to adopt the policy of "forget and forgive" and it was decided" that 195 POW's may be repatriated to Pakistan along with the other POW's. The ministers had expressed their satisfaction over the agreement and had opined that it would be the firm basis for the resolution of the humantarian problems arising out of the conflict of 1971. They reaffirmed vital stakes of the 700 million people of the three countries, have in peace and progress and reiterated the resolve of their Governments to work for the promotion of normalization of relations and the establishment of a durable peace in the sub-continent.

The Tripartite Accord had been hailed all over the world and specially in the sub-continent. The daily Pakistan Times welcomed it and commented "the tripatite accord signed by Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh at Dehli, sets at rest the uncertainties shrouding the prospects of an enduring sub-continental settlement and opens a new chapter in the history of the region. It represents the culmination of a long process of reconciliation set in motion by Prime Minister Bhutto.

(Editorial under the heading "Historic Accord"
April 11, 1974.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, Culcutta had commented:

> "The tripartite signed by India, B.D. and Pakistan on April 9, forms a water shed in the recent history of

sub-continental relations. Its major significance lies in the fact that it aims at finally settling the problems left over by the war of December, 1971. Such a settlement had been considered an essential pre-requisite for any further movement towards sub-continental reconciliation, and, hopefully, co-operation. One can only hope that this agreement when implemented *in* toto will help psychologically liberate the policy makers of Pakistan, Bangla Desh and India from the hang over of the past—a past which was marked by acrimonious debates and overt or covert hostilities.

(Date: April 17, 1974
Article by Dr. M. Ayoob)

There was no doubt in it that a new situation had taken place in the sub-continent. The Simla Agreement, the Delhi Agreement, and the Tripartite Accord could prove the three pillars of peace in the sub-continent because these agreement had helped to remove the debris of past and create a more favourable atmosphere for peace in the sub-continent. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had addressed a press conference and said:

"When the last POW returned from India on April 3, 1974 a painful and humiliating chapter in our history would come to end."

The P.T. April 26, 1974.

Actually a painful chapter had been closed on April 30, 1974. It may be noted that the period which startd from December 20, 1971 and ended at April 30, 1974 had been of great significance. It was a new phase in the history of Pak-India relations. During this period some new trends were introduced in the foreign policy of Pakistan. India and Pakistan moved from the policies of confrontation towards the

policies of reconcliation, rather than to settlethe issue by using armed forces they had decided to settle the disputes by negotiation. These methods had been applied during the past two and half years of history of new Pakistan and considerable progress had been made to stabilise the conditions of peace in the sub-continent.

In spite of all these new trends and certain visible changes in the foreign policy of the countries of sub-continent one should not ignore certain other factors, which could hampr the process of normalization and reconciliation. First of all one should not ignore the fact that Pakistan have certain outstanding problems like Kashmir with India, which could, at any moment, catch fire. India's ambitions to become a big power and impose her hegemony over the countries of South Asia, and expand her sphere of influence up to South East Asia, Persian Gulf and Middle East. These ambitions could any time create trouble and pose threat to world peace in general and the peace of sub-cintinent in particular. Pakistan's Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had always resisted India's hegemonic and expansionist tendencies like the leaders of the other countries of the region, he has emphasized-Pakistan would not barter away the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people. He had said on many occasions that we will not accept Indian hegmony. In an article published after the Simla Agreement in "Foreign Affairs" in the issue of April, 1973 under the heading of "Pakistan Builds A new" he said:

> "Pakistan will never accept the concept of Indian hegmony in the sub continent. Not only does this threatens our own existence and the stability of the subcontinent, but it is also equally Indias own real interest".

But the situation has took a new turn after the completion of repatriation of POW's on April 30, 1974. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had visited China in May 1974. At the end of his visit a joint communique was issued. It clearly stated :

> "The two sides emphasized the need for continuous vigilance against tendencies towards hegemonism and expansionism and assertion of claims to positions of dominence or spheres of influence and reiterated their determination to oppose such tendencies and guard against foreign interference, aggression subversion and disruptive activities."
>
> Chinese premier reiterated to "Firmly" support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self determination.

(The Pakistan Times
May 15, 1974)

It was obvious that china had supported Pakistani cause, because the history of sub continent was evident that Indian Govt had expansionist and aggressive tendencies about their neighbours. After the separation of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) she had started to claim as the major power in this area, and her ambitions had been endorsed by certain big powers also.

Besides, it was also a fact that the problems left over by the war of 1971 had been solved, and the time had arrived to discuss the issue of "Kashmir". But India who always had backed out her committments once again tried to push aside the dispute. Though Pakistan's position had been strengthend due to Chinese support and world opinion in her favour, India took another step and immediate after the visit of Prime Minister Bhutto to China exploded an Atomic

Device on May, 18, 1974 near Rajasthan and claimed to become the sixth Atomic Power in the world. It had been an event of International concern. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto immediately reacted to boost up the moral of people of Pakistan and clarified his Government's attitude towards the Indian Atomic explosion. He said :"

> "Pakistan would not change its policies, including that on Kashmir, following India's Nuclear demonstration and it would not accept under any circumstances Indians hegemony or domination over the Sub-Continent."

The Prime Minister had solemnly pledged to the people that their Government would never let Pakistan be a victim of Nuclear blackmail and he was confident that the people would react to the situation with equanimity· dignity and self-confidence."

(The Pakistan Times)
May 20, 1974.

It may be noted that Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had reiterated the words which had been spelt out in the joint Communique of Pakistan and China May 15, 1974, which had been a declaration to resist Indian hegemony with the support of China. The words of the Prime Minister had reflected that he would not be cowed down even by the India's Nuclear capability, and shall stand firm on certain issues of National importance. During his press conference Z. A. Bhutto had revealed that he had rejected the idea of No-War Pact with India at Simla, he declared "a No-War Pact in the face of a Nuclear threat would amount to capitulation. We will never be a party to any such ignominious surrender. . . . . asked if the nuclear explosion by India had dampened the chances of normalisation with her, Mr Bhutto said that

if the process of normalisation continued on the basis of Sovereign Equality, non-interference and the principles of co-existence, Pakistan would respond to it. But if there was a change of policy by India relying on her Nuclear status, the situation would be different. The speech of Z. A Bhutto had reflected the three important points:

1. He would not accept India's hegemony and there would be no change of policy about Kashmir.
2. There was no possibility of No-War Pact with India.
3. Pakistan would maintain relations with India on the basis of Sovereign equality.

It may be noted that since Z. A. Bhutto took over the destiny of Pakistan and started negotiatons with India he had emphasized that he would not accept the hegemony of India. He had also shown his determination not to accept peace unconditionally, a few of his statements had been quoted in this respect. But after more than two years a new situation had developed Now India has become an Atomic Power with expansionist tendencies So in the new situation Indian attitude towards her immediate neighbour and the other parts of the world would condition the political climate in South Asia. If she would try to become a dominant power, the prospects of peace in this area would be bleak. If she moved with certain restraints, solved the outstanding issues and maintained relations with her small neighbours on the basis of sovereign equality, the prospects of peace would be bright, otherwise it would be very difficult to eliminate the tension in this part of the world. It is just possible that the area might become centre of new power politic of the Global Powers and the tension might lead the world towards another war of mutual destruction.

PAKISTAN & THE MUSLIM WORLD

Turned Pakistan's attention and diplomatic thrust towards the Middle East. He (Mr.Bhutto unquote) did this fervent wooing of the Arabs, by frequent political pilgrimages to Middle East, by playing host to the super-stars of the Islamic world in Lahore and by total support of the Arabs against Israel.

The Newyork Times, Newyork
March 27, 1974

People of Pakistan always liked to foster closer relations with the Muslim countries. Since the inception of Pakistan every Government tried to have good relations with the Muslim World. But people wishes are not the only factor which are kept in view in the formation of foreign policy. There are certain other factors which are also kept in view. Geographical position and political ends are the determining factors in Foreign Policy. Pakistan is a part of South Asia. Sometimes back, its one leg was in South East Asia and the other in Middle East. But the separation and emergence of Bangla Desh had caused certain changes in the foreign policy of Pakistan. It has altered the geographical and political perspective. Pakistan is geographically situated in South Asia and enjoys a proximity to the Middle East. Its strategic position ought to be viewed in the perspective of her location on Arabian Sea, controlling entrance to the Persian Gulf,

vis-a-vis the Sea lanes between Europe and the Indian Oceans. Besides geo-political relationship, Pakistan had historical, cultural links of common faith with the countries situated in that area.

When Z. A. Bhutto came into power he reactivated the Foreign Policy of Pakistan, keeping in view certain new geo-political realities. In this respect he had decided to forego good relations with the Muslim countries. If these developments are analysed, one would appreciate that within a short span of time the relationship between Pakistan and the Muslim countries had been strengthened. It had undergone three different stages. First Pakistan had approached the Muslim countries to help Pakistan immediate after the fall of Dacca. Second, during Oct ; 1973 War Pakistan had helped the Arab countries and further strengthened the realtions. Third, growing co-operation between Pakistan and other Muslim Countries in the light of Islmaic Summit. As regards the first stage of relations between Pakistan and the Muslim Countries it may be remembered that it was the most difficult stage. Because one part of Pakistan had been separated from Pakistan as a result of Indian Aggression. She had more than 90000POW's of Pakistan in her custody. Pakistan's image abroad was tarnished by Yahya Khan's suppressive actions in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh). Pakistan seemed to be an isolated nation. At that critical time Pakistan's first elected Government had approached the Muslim countries to re-establish relations with them and gain their support to solve disputes with India. In March President Z. A. Bhutto had visited Iran, Turkey, Morocco Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt Syria. On his return the President addressed the National Assembly; on April 14, 1972 and said;

> "The main purpose of this visit was to reassure our friends at the highest level that we were taking a firm hold of our national affairs, to thank them for their past

help and to seek their understanding for our grave predicament. Our Muslim brothers showed warm sympathies understanding and support for our position. It was a mission of renaissance, of our relation with the Muslim world."

(Speeches and Statements Page 40.)

It was a great success. He won over sympathies, arrived at understanding and gained their support. Z.A. Bhutto's visit to Muslim and certain other countries had strengthened her position during the negotiation with India, in seeking honourable settlement of the outstanding issues. The result of the diplomatic support came out in the form of The Simla Agreement with India. Pakistan had signed the agreement without compromising her principles. Mr Philip Talbot had also appreciated President Z. A. Bhutto's efforts—on diplomatic front ; he said;

> To prepare for what must be difficult negotiation, he began his Presidency by casting prospective support in rapid travel to the Middle East, China and Soviet Union; and in diplomatic probes elswhere. Apparently he formed a good deal of understanding and sympthy, with indications of a certain degree of diplomatic backing at least from China and several middle Eastern Muslim States."

(Foreign Affairs)

The Sub-Continent, July, 1972.

It may be noted that Pakistan-Iran had a special kind of relationship. Both the countries always stood by each other. Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey are allies in CENTO. They are members of RCD. Immediate after the fall of Dacca, Shah Iran Reza Shah Pehlvi had visited Pakistan. President had visited Iran in March 1972. He had again visited Iran during 1972 and forthe third time he had gone to Iran in May 1973 accompanied by Mr. J. A. Rahim Minister for Production, and Presidntial

Affairs, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar the then Governor of of Panjab, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi the then Minister for Political Affairs and Communication, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Relation, Mr, Rafi Reza, Special Assistant to President, Mr. Qamarul-Islam Deputy Chairman Planning Commission. His excellency Mr. Hamid Nawaz Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan in Iran Mr. Mansoor Ahmed, Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On May 11, 1973 a joint communique was issued and both the countries agreed to further expand existing co-operation. In the Joint Communique the following important points had been included;

1. Co-operation in political and economic fields between the two countries.
2. Iran supported Pakistan's cause regarding POW's.
3. They had unitedly supported the cause of Arabs and expressed their concern over the deteriorating situation in the Middle East.

As regards the first point of the Joint Communique, they resolved that their countries would resolutely stand by each other in all matters bearing on the internal independence and the territorial integrity. Besides political support to each other, they agreed to further develop economic relations. They had decided to set up a Joint Commission at Ministerial level which would meet at least once a year and oftener if necessary to promote trade and indent the areas in which the two countries could jointly collaborate.

(The Pakistan Times, May 15, 1973)

Secondly, the two heads of States noted with deep concern that over 92000 POW's including 12000 civilian women and childrens who should have been repatriated over 16 months ago under the Geneva Conventions, still continue to be held in captivity in India in *balatant* disregard not only of those conventions but also of the United Nations resolution on the

subject as well as the intensely humanitarian consideration involved. They called upon the Government of India to repatriate them without further delay.

(The Pakistan Times, May, 15, 1973)

Thirdly, the two heads of States expressed their concern over the deteriorated situation in the Middle East which continued to cause a serious threat to peace and stability in the region. They had reaffirmed their opposition to the use of force as means of securing territorial gains or political advantages. It was a great achievement because with the support of Iran and other Muslim and non-Muslim countries Pakistan had compelled India to sign The Delhi Agreement of August, 1973. During Arab Israel War in October 1973 Z. A. Bhutto had again invited Iran for mutual consultation and united support to Arab cause. For the fifth time Z A Bhutto visited Iran in March, 1974 after Islamic Summit. His visit to Iran in the month of March, 1974 was very significant. During Islamic Summit in February 1974 Indian press and Govt. had given impression that relations between Pakistan and Iran are steadily cooling because Shahinshah of Iran did not like that "Pakistan should look beyond her own boundary and play more active role in the area of Persian Gulf."

It was also propagated that the absence of Shahinshah Iran from Islamic Summit was very significant because he was not in favour of inviting President Col. Gaddafy of Libya in Islamic Summit. But Z.A. Bhutto's visit to Iran in March, 1973 had quashed the speculations. The joint communique issued at the end of the visit on April 1, 1974. They had noted with satisfaction the progress made in implementing the decision of the Joint Ministerial Commission for economic co-operation and agreed to enlarge the area of bilateral co-oparation, the joint ventures and other forms of economic co-operation. Besides (his Imperial Majesty) viewed with sympathatic understanding the difficulties being experienced by Pakistan on account of the rise in the prices of oil and its balance

of payment difficulties. He expressed the Iranian Governments willingness to help Pakistan in surmounting these problems by providing loans on special and friendly terms. (P. T. April, 1974). Z. A. Bhutto's visit to Iran proved fruitful. Certain other changes have taken place about the relation of Iran with India. During Islamic Summit the Foreign Minister of India Mr. Swaran Singh had visited Iran later on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had also visited Iran in the month of April, 1974 to win over Iran for economic cooperation and political support. The situation might have taken a new turn, but Indian nuclear explosion had exposed her expansionist tendencies. While on the other side Shahinshah Iran was also building up his arms strenght, and by expanding her economic and political influence, Iran had intended to play a more effective role in the region. But after the nuclear explosion of India, she emerged as a more powerful country than Iran creating apprehensions among her neighbours about her expansionist and aggressive designs. She, by nuclear explosion had tried to set aside all the military preparations of Iran. It added a new dimension to Pakistan's relations with Iran. The study had proved that People's Government had tried her best to forge closer relations with the Muslim countries of West Asia and Middle East.

The second stage of Pakistan relations with the Muslim world was more important because during the first phase of relations between Pakistan and the Muslim World, the Muslim countries had helped Pakistan, during the second stage Pakistan had helped her Arab Muslim borthers.

The detente between Moscow and Washington had created a "no war no peace" situation in the Middle East. The Government of America was on the side of Israel and the Government of U.S.S.R supported Arab countries. But neither of the two countries was willing to change the existing situation. The detente between two big powers had favoured Israel. The agreement between U.S.A. and

U S.S.R. in June, 1973 had further increased tension. Because the two big powers had emphasized" to avoid arms conflict but on the other hand they could not agree to eliminate the causes of tension. They wanted to impose the situation of no war no peace. This situation was not acceptable for Arab countries, they wanted to restore their territories occupied by Israel and just solution of Palestanian problem. Due to aggressive designs of Israel and mounting tension in the area, war broke out between Israel and Arabs in October 1973. It was third time when Israel had attacked Arab countries. Pakistan being a Muslim country and a part of Middle East and having cultural, historical and political relations with the countries immediately acted upon to support the Arab cause. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto immediately took certain steps to help Arabs. On October 15, 1973 he had left for Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia to discuss the situation and give united support to Arabs. After taking united stand with Iran in favour of Arabs he had left Iran and Turkey On his departure he said "Pakistan policy had been consistence in support of the Security Council Resolution of. November 1973. We believe that a viable solution can only be found if territories occupied by Israel are vacated.

(The Pakistan Times, October 18, 1973)

On October 18 he had reached in Turkey, discussed the October War at the end of his short visit a joint communique was issued. The two countries had put their weight behind Arabs and said :

"They reaffirm, their opposition to the occupation of territory by the use of force.

(The Pakistan Times October 19, 1973).

On October 19, 1973 Prime Minister Bhutto met Shah Faisal of Saudi Arabia and on October 20, 1973 he came back. At the time of his arrival he had revealed that "Pakistan was giving more than political support to Arabs, to help liberate their lands usurped by Israel in 1967".

The consistent support by Pakistan to Arab cause had evoked the feeling of gratitute for the first time in history, all the Arab Muslim countries stood united against Israel. The Arab forces had shattered the myth of Israel's invicibility. Besides the use of oil as a political weapon had further strengthened the position of Arab countries a new situation had developed in this part of the world. As it had been discussed by the weekly Newsweek, "among all the Arab people their is a ––– –conviction that their world has been transformed, thanks to sudden and surprising success the October War and the oil boycott – and entire people have begun to fell a sense of power, importance and pride. The Arabs awakening sprang up like a desert wind storm.

(Page 12, February 18, 1974)

From October, 1973 to February 1974 certain events of international importance have taken place. In November 1973, the Arab countries had decided to impose ban on the supply of oil to the countries supporting Israel. This situation was of great concern for all the countries in the world. The Government of the U.S.A. had to change her attitude about the aggressor Israel. The countries of Western Europe had also initiated to play more active independent role. The newly gained strength of Arab countries had conditioned the policies of the world. Due to this situation U.S.A. and U.S.S.R had speeded up their efforts to bring about peace in the area. In this respect Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger had visited U.S.S.R. and other countries. In November 1973 on his way to China, he stayed in Pakistan. His stay in Pakistan was, in a way a recognition of the fact that Pakistan can play an important role in the Politics of Middle East. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto's Policy about Middle East had further clarified Pakistan's positions. On November 8, and 9, 1973 Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto hosted a dinner in honour of Dr. Kissinger. At that time he said : Pakistan has a vital stake in the Middle East region. On

November 10, 1973, Dr. Henry Kissinger said : "he and Prime Minister agreed to undertake in our own way major efforts in the Middle East in the interest of all mankind". At that time of his departure Dr. Kissinger had said ; Pakistan can play an important and the full role in the task in which we are engaged". Dr. Henry Kissinger's visit to Pakistan in connection with Middle East situation had proved that Pakistan can play an important role in that area. Pakistan's support to Middle Eastern Arab Muslim countries had further proved that a new and stronger relationship was evolving between Pakistan and the Muslim countries. It would also be interesting to note that some newspapers had objected Pakistan's position in Middle East during Dr. Henry Kissinger's visit to Islamabad. The Baltimore Sun of U. S. A. had commented :

> A curious and surely lesser aspect of Dr. Kissinger current trip is that his "Middle Eastern" stop have said to include Islamabad, Pakistan. Some news despatches, though not from the more knowledgeable reports, have even spoken of visit to "Seven Arab" capitals including Teheran and Islamabad.
>
> This is inaccurate and confusing. In the first place Iran, though Islamic, is not Arab. That is also true of Pakistan. As to Middle Eastern, Iran though its close interest in the general oil picture, indeed involved in the situation that can be called the Middle East. Pakistan lies or has lain, in another world. It may be said to be Middle Eastern only in types of terrain. Otherwise it has been historically and essentially still is, an integral part of old Indian Sub-Continent. It now shares with India and Bangla Desh, why then this new placing of Pakistan in another geographical context ?
>
> (November 10, 1973)

It is hereby added nothing more than that the Editor of Baltimore Sun was blind of the geographical, political,

historical and cultural background, otherwise he would not have objected. However, it is a fact that Pakistan is a part of Sub-Continent, but it is also a part of Middle East, denial of her position and role, does not change the reality. The two wars between Pakistan and India, and wars between Arabs and Israel in October 1973 had brought the Muslim countries closer. They had shared a common experience of history. Pakistan had been a victim of aggression in the Sub-Continent and the Arabs had been victims of aggression in the Middle East. Due to which the countries situated in the area of Middle East and Pakistan, had realised the fact that they must increase their own political, economic and military strength.

In the Middle East the big powers had been striving to bring the hostile countries around the table. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R had been playing the role of mediators. The Government of Egypt agreed to discuss with Israel while the Government of Syria had refused to sit with Israel until she vacate the occupied territories. It was a new situation. On the one side the Arabs were negotiating peace, on the other side they used threat of war as political threat. It was a highly tactful game of Arabs to gain benefits. But at that time the Arab Muslim countries needed unity and support to get vacated their lands occupied by Israel and just settlement of Palestinian problems. At that time, the then Secretary-General of Islamic Secretariat Tunku Abdul Rehman arrived in Pakistan in the month of November 1973. Prime Minister agreed to hold Islamic Summit in Lahore to support Arab cause and forge unity between the Muslim Arabs and Non-Arab countries. Prime Minister Bhutto had sent his special envoys to Muslim countries and all the countries had supported and liked the idea. And February, 22, 1974 was proposed for Islamic Summit to be held at Lahore. On that occasion another important event took place. In February, 1974 an ambassador

of U.S.A in India arrived in Pakistan. On February 10, Mr. Aziz Ahmed left for Cairo and in February 13, 1974 Foreign Minister of India Mr. Swarn Singh visited Bangla Desh. These three visits have influenced the future course of events. The political observers of Pakistan had opined that these were preparations of recognition of Bangla Desh and certain assurances had been given by the countries concerned to the countries who were playing the role of mediator. As a result Pakistan government had recognised Bangladesh on February 22, 1974. It had been supposed that these visits had finalised the issue of recognition of Bangladesh and the government of Pakistan secretly got assurance that Bangla Desh would drop the trial of War crimes against 195 POW's.

The recognition of Bangla Desh had created a more favourable atmosphere to foster unity between the Muslim countries. More than 36 countries had attended the Islamic Summit and most of them had been represented by their Heads of States. It was historic Conference and a symbol of Muslim Unity. Prior to that Conference 37 Muslim countries had recognised Palestinian Liberation Organisation as a genuine representative organisation of Palestinian People. Pakistan given recognition to PLO earlier than this announcement.

Prime Minister in his message to the Islamic Summit said :

> The Summit represented the cherished wish of the people of Pakistan as never before the world of Islam had been presented with opportunity to acquire economic strength and political influence as it was today."

The Pakistan Times
February, 22 1974

President Muhammad Moamer Gadaffi called for a United Front for the Liberation of Jerusalem and said that all the resources of the Muslim World should be mobilised to

attain the cherised goal". He had condmned Israel, supported Arabs' cause and shown his determination to stand by Pakistan.

President Hafizul Asad of Syria had expressed his confidence that the Islamic Summit Conference would result in a stand commensurate with the gravity of the situation in the Middle East. President Houri Boumedienne of Algeria had said :

> "Human experience had established in many places of world that only religious links, whether Islam or of Christanity did not prove strong enough under the blow of poverty and ignorance."

The Pakistan Times, February 24, 1974.

At the end of Islamic Summit the Lahore Declaration was issued "Pledging support for the Arab cause and appointing a committee of experts to consider steps for the economic betterment of the Muslim States".

Islamic Summit was a great success. It had not only strengthened the hands of Arab countries but it had also helped to resolve the contradictions within Muslim World. It was a sort of show of strength by Muslim countries and the Conference had proved that Islamic Group had emerged as a leading group in the third World. Really the Islamic Summit was a great achievement of Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto. The daily Telegraph London had commented :

> "The Arab, in particular and the Oil Sheikh, had something to be grateful for and much to be grateful with Pakistan and Mr. Bhutto, will find themselves drawing more and more into the diplomacy of the Middle East.

By Peter Gill,
March, 6, 1974.

Within a short span of time Z. A. Bhutto had shown his diplomatic strength and his most spectacular feat was the

creation of "far-productive and pragmatic Foreign policy." Mr. A. M. Rosenthal of "The New York Times", New York had commented :

> Turned Pakistan's attention and diplomatic thrust towards the Middle East. He did this by fervent wooing of the Arabs, by frequent political pilgrimages to Middle East, by playing host to the supper-stars of the Islamic World in Lahore and by total support of the Arabs against Israel
>
> There are several plain motivations to create strong backing for Pakistan in the Middle East, which she had lacked before, to try to get concessions on oil prices, and to create for Pakistan a new sense of Islamic connection to replace the shock at the severing of Muslim East Pakistan from Muslim West Pakistan.
>
> (March 27, 1974).

Z. A. Bhutto got support from Middle Eastern Muslim Countries and in return supported Arabs against Israel. But the relations between Pakistan and Muslim countries took a new concrete shape and political relationship paved the way for co-operation in the economic field. The third stages of Pakistan and Muslim countries relation had been a stage of co operation As it had been stated that geographically Pakistan is located on the entrance of Persian Gulf and Pakistan interest in this area are genuine. The present Government has always emphasized to have closer relations with countries of Persian Gulf. The small States of Persian Gulf have emence resources of oil and are the richest countries of the world. Pakistan had the resources of man power and technical knowhow, so the co-operation between these countries can serve the purpose of all the nations. The events which had taken place after the October War had proved that co-operation between Pakistan and other Muslim countries of Persian Gulf and Middle East would grow day

by day. Z. A. Bhutto had visited U.S.A. in September 1973 and at the end of his visit he said :

If U. S. arm supply was not resumed, Pakistan would have to go to his Arab friends and buy arms from what ever source—through their economic assistance. (P. T. November 23, 1973)

Z. A. Bhutto held talks with President Pompidou of France on July and the Secretary of State of France Mr. Jean de Lipkowsky visited Pakistan in December, 1973. He held a meeting with Mr. Bhutto and Aziz Ahmad before his departure. Mr. Lipkowsky replying a question said if their is a disturbance in arms balance, it ought to be made good.

(December 9, 1974)

The day Secretary of State of France has left, Prime Minister Mr. Bhutto also decided to visit Behrine and Qatar. In the perspective of the visit of France Secretary of State, P. M Bhutto's visit to the countries of Persian Gulf had been of great significance. During Z. A. Bhutto's visit to the states the speeches delivered on different occasions had indicated the main idea behind the visit. In Behrain he said."

If the states were willing for collaboration to defence production, it would also be possible.

(P. T. December 10, 1973)

On another occasion he said."

Pakistan was concerned at Indian army build up and he was therefore, seeking Arab cooperation.

(P. T. December10, 1973.)

In Abu Dhabi on December 12, he said :

"The security of Pakistan was also linked with the security of the region.

(P. T. December 13, 1973)

These extracts from the statements and speeches of Mr. Bhutto had shown that his visit to these states was in connection with certain arrangments about defence, and to seek cooperation of Persian Gulf countries. The political observers had said after his visit to these states that Pakistan with the help of France, in cooperation of the countries of Persian Gulf, would set up a plant for the manufacturing of sophisticated arms.

Immediate after the end of Islamic Summit President Zaid bin Sultan AlNihyan had visited Pakistan on March, 9, 1974. He had discussed regional situation with the leaders of Pakistan. On March 12, 1974 President Zaid Bin Sultan said at Peshawar:

> "A strong Pakistan is a source of strength and pride for the entire Muslim world particularly the Arabs."

It may also be noted that Mr. Aziz Ahmad, the next day of his discussions with the President of U.A E. had left for France. In the background of President Sultan's visit to Pakistan Aziz Ahmad's departure for France had been of a great significance, which shows that Pakistan was giving a practical shape to her plans to build a strong army and increase defence production with the help of France and economic cooperation of Arab countries However, at the end of the visit of President Zaid Bin Sultan Pakistan and U.A.E. had issued a joint communique. They agreed to form a Ministerial commission to further reinforce the growth of mutual ties. The first meeting of the Ministerial Commission was held at U.A.E. from May 4, to 6, 1974, Mr. Aziz Ahmed had attended the meeting. At the end of the meeting they emphasized to further cooperate in the field of economics.

At the end of Islamic Summit Col. Gadaffi had started an official tour of Pakistan. He addressed several public meetings and during these meetings Col. Gadaffi gave full assurance to Pakistan to support her while addressing a public meeting at Gadaffi Stadium, Lahore,

"In the Jehad against the enemies of Islam the strength of his peoples in men and material lies behind Pakistan to protect its integrity.

(Pakistan Times, February 26, 1974)

At the end of his visit both the countries.

"Decided to intensify their collaboration in the political economic, scientific, cultural and other fields, for their mutual benefit. For this purpose they signed an agreement establishing a joint ministetrial commission.

(The Pakistan Times, February 28, 1974).

The first meeting of the commission of Pakistan-Libya held in May 3, 1974 at Tripoli. They agreed to establish Arab-Libya-Pakistan Development Bank. Its head office would be at Karachi, they also agreed to start a joint shipping cooparation the practical shape to these decisions had been given in July, 1974 in the meeting of Ministerial Commission. Besides the two agreements had been signed between the Governments for mutual cooperation in economic and technical fields.

In May, 7 to 9 Aziz Ahmad had visited Saudi Arabia and both the countries agreed to form a joint Ministerial Commission to further strengthen economic cooperation between the two countries.

Turkey is a member of R.C.D. Pakistan had closer relations with the country. Turkey has always given support to Pakistan during the war of 1965 and afterwards Turkey stood by the side of Pakistan. Even after the emergence of Bengladesh she did not recognise the country and gave her recognition after February 22, 1974. Both the countries have cooperated with each other. Recently, in 1974, Pakistan and Turkey agreed to manufacture a railway locomotive with the help of France. The co-operation between the two countries was growing day by day.

Perhaps at present Afghanistan is the only Muslim country who do not have good relations with Pakistan. When Z.A, Bhutto took over, Afghanistan was the first country which he had visited in January 1972 and held "useful" talks with the then King Zahar Shah. But in July, the Govt ; of King Zahar Shah was toppled down. Sirdar Daud Khan took over as the President of Afghanistan. To divert the attention of Afghans, the new Government had started to strike at the deadhorse of so-called Pakhtonistan. Even during the Islamic Summit the head of Afghanistan's delegation tried to propagate in favour of so-called issue of Pakhtoonistan. But Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto reacted like a statesman and reserved his comments. On the part of Pakistan she had always wished and tried to have good relations with Afghanistan. Z. A. Bhutto during his visit to the province of N-W.F.P. had said that "Policy of confrontation will boomerang". On the one side Pakistan tried to forge good relations with Afghanistan and on the other hands she had offered to help Afghanistan. But Afghanistan was not prepared to mend her ways. Because she had been taking emence economic aid from India. It might have been a precondition of Indian help to Afghanistan to oppose Pakistan. There is a great possibility that if India did not interefere into the affairs of Afghanistan, and if Afghanistan adopts a more independent attitude, the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan would become better.

POLITICS AND PERSPECTIVE

The Foreign Policy of Pakistan is flexible enough to accommodate the changing realities of global politics and safeguard the national interests.

It had been discussed in a chapter that Pakistan Foreign Policy seems to be Asian Oriented. In this respect the Government of Pakistan had taken certain important decisions, which indicate that a radical change had taken place. On November, 8, 9, 10, 1972 government made three important announcements recognition of North Viet Nam, quitted SEATO and recognised Democratic Republic of Korea. The Government recognised on Novmember 15, 1972 East Germany and on November 25, 1972 gave recognition to Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia of Prince Sihanouk. These are very important decisions. But these decisions had not been taken in vacuum, certain concrete facts had been kept in view. Let us study the decisions in their true perspective.

The decision to recognise North Viet Nam and with drawal from SEATO had been taken, keeping in view, the radical changes in the policies of Global Powers working in this area. U.S.A. and North Vietnamese representatives had been busy in lengthy talks in Paris to end the Indo-China War for the last two years. A shrewd political observer could easily forsee the events which had taken place in 1973 and the Paris Peace Agreement had been signed. There had been certain indication in November 1972 that the Peace Agreement would be signed by the two parties engaged in it. Besides Pakistan geographical position had been altered due to the

separation of her Eastern Wing. The geo political distance between the countries of South East Asia and West Pakistan had grown. American Government was also steadily withdrawing from this area. The next important thing in this respect is, that the Government of Pakistan People Party had committed to quit SEATO in her Election Manifesto. The past history of Pakistan was evident that SEATO had never been useful for Pakistan.

In the end Pakistan wanted to associate herself with the destiny of Asian people. So these four factors had compelled Pakistani Govermment to take these important decisions.

1. Paris peace talks. 2. Changed geographical location of Pakistan. 3. Ineffectiveness of SEATO 4. Inclination to associate her destiny with Asia.

The recognition for East Germany had also a perspective. U.S.S.R. had adopted a policy of detente in Europe. The Secretary of State in Bonn and Berlain had sighned an agreement and Bonn had recognised separate position of East Germany. So Pakistan government had an opportunity to recognise East Germany without harming her relations with the Goverment of Bonn.

The decision to recognise the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia of Prince Sihanoke had also been taken because of changed political conditions. Pakistan's relations with China and her new policy toward new nations. Besided an important event of international level took place on January 24, 1973. The parties engaged in Paris peace talks agreed to sign Paris Peace Agreement on January 27, 1973. So immediate after the announcement, Government of Pakistan declared to recognise the Government of Prince Sihanoke.

We had discussed the events in their national and international perspective to prove that Pakistans foreign policy is flexible enough to accommodate the changing realities of the world politics and safeguard the national interests.

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SIMLA AGREEMENT

SIGNED ON JULY 2, 1972

TEXT

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the Sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:—

(*i*) That the principles and purpose of the charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries.

(*ii*) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any act detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations..

(*iii*) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereigny and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

(*vi*) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means.

(*v*) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.

(*iv*) That in accordance with the charter of United Nations, they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political indendence of each other.

Both the Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step, by step it was agreed that:—

(*i*) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts and air links including overflights.

(*ii*) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(*iii*) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(*iv*) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:—

(*i*) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(*ii*) In Jammu Kashmir the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of this line.

(*iii*) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedure and will come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Sd. (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto). President, Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

(Sd. (Indira Gandhi) Prime Minister, Republic of India.

TEXTS OF OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S TOAST AT THE BANQUET IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT NIXON

February 21, 1972

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world require efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfils the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat

each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement, the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value of its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds, Consistent with the United Nations Security Council resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favours the continuation of the cease-fire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of their cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small

and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to chose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the indepedence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese People. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Karhmir, and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their

independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

> Progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries.
>
> Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.
>
> Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
> Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relation between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Covenment firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side declared: The United Stales acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffiirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American people but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.